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THE CHALLENGE TO CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

MISSIONARY QUESTIONS
AND THE MODERN MIND

BY R. E. WELSH, M.A.

LONDON H. R. ALLENSON
2 IVY LANE PATERNOSTER ROW E.C. 1902

DEC 7 1914

TO

"THE GROUP"

THIS BY-PRODUCT

OF

MENTAL COMRADESHIP;

AND

TO THE WISTFUL MEMORY OF

A BROKEN PURPOSE.

CONTENTS

I

Page

Introductory: Where the Question presses . 1

The Storm-centre—The Missionary in the Critics' Den—Points of View : Diplomatic, Mercantile, Agnostic, Prophetic — The New Horizon — The Challenge and the Defence—The Fire that Christ has lit.

II

Political Complications: Is the Missionary the Troubler of the Peace? . . . 23

Lord Curzon, Lord Salisbury—Relentless Propagandists — Missionary Strategy—Souls and the Commonweal — Why the Missionary is Suspected—Foreign *Agents Provocateurs*—Cat's-paw to France—Law-suits—R. C. Dictatorship—Secular Forces and Missions interlinked.

III

Many Races Many Religions: "East is East and West is West" . . . 41

P. and O. Theology—Zone System of Race-religions—Heathen Britain Christianised—Christ of the East in the West—Miss Kingsley, Kipling—Christ Catholic—A Pantheon the Death of Christianity—The Inevitable Break-up—The Salt of Secular Civilization.

IV Page

Good in Every System: The Cosmic Light—and Dark 55

Bibles of the East—"The Light of Asia"—Confucius, Buddha—Fragments of the Truth—Cryptic Prophecies—"Some Better Thing"—Christ's Treatment of Hebrew Beliefs—"Things-as-They-Are"—Bovine Content—Elect Souls—Cake of Custom—Mrs Besant and Pagan Morals—The New Creation in Christ.

V

Liberal Thought and Heathen Destinies . . 71

Dr Morrison—Where are the Convert's Heathen Ancestors?—Carey, Xavier—Relenting Hearts—The Child leads the Way—*Via Media*—Spirits in Prison—Principles of Judgment—Salvation B.C.—Symbols of the Unseen—Attitude is Destiny—Unknown Issues.

VI

Can the Missionary Motive Survive: Does Liberal Thought cut the nerve of Missions? 87

Apostolic Motives—The Human Cry—The True "Damnum" and True Salvation—The Child Again—The Urgency of Christ.

VII

Chequered Results: "Counting the Game" . 95

Civilians' Verdicts—The Cost of a Convert—Laying Foundations—Sunk Capital, Future Returns—Indian Census: 30 p.c.—Korea, China—Have *Literati* Believed?—Stock of the Coming Race—Christian Public Men in Japan—"Christ Rules India"—J. Russell Lowell.

VIII

Page

Chequered Results: "The Mission-made Man" . 111

Miss Kingsley — Spoiling the Natives—Wastrels and Saints—White Men's Prejudice — Child-races' Slow Ascent — St Jerome on Barbaric Britons — Happier Raw?—Progress by Unsettlement — The March of Civilisation — Government Education — Liquor and Lust — R. L. S. — The Best the Enemy of the Good? —Fire-tested Converts — The Power of Christ.

IX

The Men and their Methods . . . 143

Comfortable Missionaries—Wise Men and Zealots — The Best for Abroad — Mr Julian Ralph *v.* Capt. Younghusband and R.L.S.—Questions of Policy—Dying Races—Industrial Training.

X

The Aim: The Coming Kingdom . . . 159

"Outgathering" *v.* "National Christianisation"—Livingstone—The Second Advent—Prepare for Permanency.

XI

The Return-Value of Missions . . . 165

Daring Faith — The Miracle proceeding —Moffat's Vision—Dr Duff—The Social Boon—New Verification of Christianity —The Triumph over Paganism — The Dynamic Love of Christ.

Appendix A Page

The Powers and the Priests in the East . . 175

Recent Literature — France, Germany, and Roman Catholics — Foreign Priests as Magistrates — Lawsuits — Other Sources of Offence.

Appendix B

Checks to Progress in India . . . 184

Mr Meredith Townsend's *Asia and Europe* — Europeanising the Asiatic — Caste— Convinced but Unconverted—A Prince— Mr Kidd's "Unborn Generations."

I

INTRODUCTORY

Where the Question Presses

I

INTRODUCTORY:

Where the Question Presses

WITH three different types of men, the minister of state, the modern man of liberal mind, and the civilian doing business or travelling among native races, the work carried on by the foreign missionary is usually a sore point and a storm centre.

The utterances of British statesmen and international events have been thrusting this problem before public attention. When a Prime Minister, an Indian Viceroy, and press correspondents abroad deal gravely with the complications created by mission work as "one of the practical public questions of the day," it is clearly a living issue of the time which cannot be ignored. Is not the missionary the troubler of the international peace, the source of racial embroilments? This issue has been expressly raised by Lord Curzon of Kedleston as publicist, and by Dr Morrison, famous as traveller and press representative in China.

At the same time, the missionary cause is being called to the bar of the modern mind

and required to justify itself in the light of liberal thought. The discovery of good things in the bibles of the East, world-travel, commerce, and the spread of broader Christian sympathies and scientific knowledge have expanded our mental horizon and dispelled the old romantic conception of the heathen. A kindlier view is taken of ancient Asiatic religions and of heathen destinies.

The citizen of the world, too—represented by the late Miss Mary Kingsley, traveller in West Africa,—has pertinent questions to put, concerning the actual effects of the work, which demand courageous consideration.

On the veranda or the stoep after dinner, and on board ship, what is said as to the "mission-made" native by the average layman who knows life among dusky races? The subject is often on the lips of civilians, military men, ships' officers, traders, travellers, and ladies who have had experience of native servants. Many of them are frankly critical of the missionary and his converts. Some, while disappointed with the results of the work, are silent because reluctant to say anything against well-intentioned Christian effort. Only a few of them are warm supporters of the missionary cause.

Home-keeping churchmen, while quietly faithful to the enterprise, are secretly staggered

to find that so many come back from business abroad with greater or less hostility to missions. Hence, even in the Church there are numbers, and outside there are many, who "don't believe in Foreign Missions."

Missionary work is challenged on the ground that—

1. Politically it is objectionable.
2. Religiously it is superfluous.
3. Morally and socially it is unsatisfactory in its outcome.

From various classes of men, intelligent or shallow, come questions such as these—

Are not missionaries the source of racial embroilments and social disturbance?

Why should we interfere with the religious beliefs of other races?

Is Christianity the thing that will best suit them?

Can it possibly be indispensable for their salvation?

Do not enlightened views of heathen destinies take away the reason for missionary work?

Does it not unsettle and spoil the native and produce but poor results?

Missionaries know that they and their work form a frequent dish in the den of the critic. They do not mind that. The Church or the Society which sends them out may mind as

little. All of them are too busily engaged upon their immediate duties to give heed to what aliens say—aliens whom they perhaps set down summarily as either worldlings or enemies, as in numbers of cases indeed they are. And certainly the final answer to both friendly and hostile critics must lie in the unfaltering fulfilment of Christ's great commission, in the unconquerable vitality of the cause. The workers must not halt in order first to satisfy objectors; the work itself will answer for them better than all arguments; there are no apologists so effectively defending the faith as those who are living it and spreading it. They feel that they are "doing a great work" and "cannot come down." Yet something is due from them to honourable questioners. Answer must be made when sinister facts and grave problems are set before us.

It is noticeable that missionaries in conference are occupied throughout with their operations and their experiences, and take no share in the controversy which their work raises in the outside world and in some corners of the Church. And those at home who have nothing to disturb their satisfaction with the work are, quite naturally, interested for the most part in quotable cases of converts and in missionary sketches.

Is there not even some prejudice in the

Church against anyone who holds parley with the critic, or who engages in discussions which appear to doubt the wisdom of current methods or examine the theology and social results of missions? The case in these respects is closed by a foregone conclusion.

The Church, however, must not close her ears to what is said, on the one hand by sea-going people and men in the consular and mercantile service, who look at the practical outcome of the work, and on the other by men who go deep into the problems of pagan life and religion.

Much of the criticism current is doubtless the irresponsible gossip of clubs and camps and open ports. Much of it comes from objectors who dislike all natives and carry over this dislike to the work done among the natives. Much of it is second-hand, the echo of common prejudice caught up by easy people of the world. Underlying some of it there is secret revolt against work that condemns the treatment meted out by too many white men to the native, and that "spoils" him for their use.

Yet, as truly, it is quite unjust to ascribe all criticism to these sources. There are weak points and stiff problems in mission work and its ethical outcome in the native character. Occasionally a strong and courageous missionary speaks out on the subject—witness what

Dr Stewart, of Lovedale, has written concerning the misuse and disappointing results of the higher education of Kaffirs.[1] There are also questions of missionary policy and methods which are at any rate proper subjects for frank debate. And the traditional view of pagan religions and heathen destinies exposes the enterprise to easy attack and calls for correction and reconstruction.

Some deduction from criticism must be made when it comes from people who have no great store of religious convictions, or who, like certain men to be named in the following pages, are infected with the sceptical spirit. Mr Michie's *Missionaries in China*, the feeder of so much other censure, has to be read in the light of the author's disappointments and alienation from the Christian community, and of his ties with Li Hung Chang. Certain pressmen, whose journalistic animadversions have been consumed by multitudes of home readers, write out of an agnostic mind. We have to allow for the personal equation in the sceptic's standpoint, and must keep our judgment well in hand.

Yet, even if the critic speak from the agnostic, the detached, the irreligious, or the worldly point of view, we are not to put his report or his argument quite out of court, as though he

[1] *The Experiment of Native Education.*

had no right to give his evidence. Others have listened to him, and we must do so also, if only for their sake. In any case, some of the statements advanced against the work proceed on a basis of clear facts, and must not be waved aside or ignored. These facts must be balanced by other facts, and shown not to affect the cause as a whole when a larger outlook is taken. Many are critical because they are ignorant of the work, or do not see the wider bearings of it and the price to be necessarily paid meanwhile by the Christian Church as the condition of ultimate success. They must be supplied with information and carried to the higher point of view from which the far look is taken.

It is not Miss Kingsley, Lord Curzon, and Dr Morrison alone—I take them only as spokesmen of a considerable public—who force this question on us. It arises in the mind of many within the Church because the first romantic period of missions is over, and they find that the campaign is to be more protracted and costly than they expected. The glamour of the early venture is somewhat spent. The conquest of the pagan world is not to be achieved by a flying column. The Church has to brace herself for operations which will prove taxing and will last through many generations. Backward tides will check the onward flow of

the age-long movement. This discovery not only gives the critic reason for his questioning, but it also makes many a Christian draw breath and pause wearily to discuss the whole campaign.

Early illusions about the enterprise, then, have been dispelled. A time of hesitancy may follow ere the Church takes it up again in steady persistence and enlightened faith. Even if it were only a case of meeting criticisms from without, we should set ourselves to realise the true nature of the work, to take a wider measure of the missionary cause as it is interlaced with all human interests, and to set pagan religions, as related to God and the Christian faith, in better perspective, and see them at the modern angle.

Like all truth, the Christian cause has a habit of going on its way independently of men's praise or blame. It needs no defence. And we do not come forward with any apology for the missionary enterprise. The primary basis of the work and the religious motives which inspire it remain unalterable. No fluctuation of thought and no criticism can affect our Lord's universal love and world-wide mission. The devout Christian heart knows a secret and possesses a divine intuition which make this cause a necessity. A fire has been lit which nothing can extinguish.

Yet something has to be done to interpret the missionary cause. The task as here outlined is of much too great a magnitude to be fully overtaken in a little volume of ten brief chapters. It will be enough for the writer's purpose if, without going into confusing detail, he can ventilate the subject, and contribute even a little towards the provisional solution of current missionary problems.

II

POLITICAL COMPLICATIONS

Is the Missionary the Troubler of the Peace?

II

POLITICAL COMPLICATIONS:

Is the Missionary the Troubler of the Peace?

LORD CURZON has said of the missionaries: "It is impossible to ignore the facts that their mission is a source of political unrest and frequently of international trouble, and that it is subversive of the national institutions of the country in which they reside."[1] He is confessedly echoing the faithful challenge of that candid friend, Mr Michie, of Tientsin, who holds the aggressive missionaries mainly responsible for the civil entanglements and the outbreak of race-hatred which time after time have brought such confusion and loss in the Far East.[2]

According to him they have driven on their religious propagandism without considering the difficulties they were creating for the Chinese authorities and the foreign legations. In their meddlesome interference with the functions of the magistrate, in their intolerant defiance of

[1] *Problems of the Far East.*

[2] *Missionaries in China*, by Alexander Michie.

native traditions and prejudices, in their "war to the knife" against native faiths, they have disregarded the religious customs and institutions of the people, have denationalised the converts, and will continue to constitute in the future the chief obstacle to friendly relations between the foreign communities and the people of the country among whom they reside. They have pushed far into the interior, claiming the shelter of treaties which were wrung from the Government under threat of naval guns. When native animosities have broken out and imperilled their lives, either they have appealed for protection to their own Governments, or their position has compelled these Governments to come to their rescue. In the French Chamber a similar view has been expounded.

Lord Salisbury tells us plainly that "at the Foreign Office the missionaries are not popular." There are plenty of men ready to extend the charge and say, "the missionary is at the bottom of all the trouble, and will continue to be so as long as he is not restrained."

The summary, loud-sounding answer might be given that Christ's work must go on at all costs; that His kingdom is the greatest of all Great Powers, with an imperial mission that is paramount; that He is a factor in all human issues, and lays His hand on all institutions

and customs for their reform; that, if His agents are charged with creating social and civic confusion, it is only the old complaint, "these men turn the world upside down." In Mr Michie's own words, "men of every shade of opinion recognise the dynamic force of a religion which splits up nations as frost does the solid rock." He admits that "the missionaries cannot cease their operations."

"That governments should fight," says Lord Curzon, "or that international relations should be imperilled over his (the missionary's) wrecked house or insulted person would strike him as but a feather's weight in the scale compared with the final issues at stake—viz., the spiritual regeneration of a vast country and a mighty population plunged in heathenism and sin." And certainly in the last issue such "spiritual regeneration" *does* outweigh every other consideration.

We are bound, however, to take the larger statesmanlike view of the work as it affects the public life and ultimate progress of the communities in which it is prosecuted. Unlike certain missionaries who have overlooked the civic side of the Christian kingdom, we must not consider merely how to "gather out" a number of "souls" from a doomed world, but, like our Master, must link spiritual work with the commonweal. We must take the far look,

and consider what will ultimately work out the joint social and moral well-being of each community.

Many of the most influential missionaries act upon this wider view of the Divine Kingdom. But undoubtedly there are some of them who have an eye for little beyond individual "souls." These are the men and women likely to make ruthless assaults on all traditions and customs knit into the fabric of the social life, and to disregard the offence and the complications they create. At home there are the same two classes of religious teachers—(1) those who make an outspoken frontal attack on every public and social evil, careless of prudential considerations and of the impediments which their vehemence may raise, and (2) those who spread Christian principles and rely on enlightenment of conscience for the gradual undermining of social and public evils. Publicists like Lord Curzon have good reason for calling upon missionaries of the more relentless class to calculate whether their present intemperate methods may not arouse an undue amount of prejudice, and raise obstacles which in the long-run will impede the progress of the cause. But the misguided earnestness of the few who, with all their good intentions, are unwise and aggressively intolerant is no argument against the quiet, steady, many-sided

work carried on by the large better-class of missionaries. Among so many in the field, so variously prepared, there must always be some who are tactless, blindly making mistakes. Are diplomatists themselves universally patterns of wisdom, and have none of them followed a policy which has excited native prejudice and created disturbance? In both cases the impolicy of the misguided few hampers, but must not silence or cripple, the work of the wise. And even the wise (by nature) have to learn by experience.

From the very essence of the Christian enterprise, however, some measure of social disturbance and even political unrest is inevitable. And the Church does unflinchingly hold that, after a policy of prudence has been followed, these troubles must be faced and borne, that nothing—to accept Lord Curzon's charge—is of such moment to the races of mankind as their moral regeneration, which, as in our own history, may involve ferment and disruption in the process.

Coarse pamphleteers among the Chinese *literati* issue gross caricatures of Christianity and charge the missionaries with the foulest crimes and vices. Such things cannot be averted under any Christian policy. Orphanages and medical missions are accused of kidnapping children and turning weakling

infants to hideous medical uses. Only by continuing their beneficent work among multiplying numbers can these humane agencies wear down blind prejudice. There are many such misunderstandings and animosities which are unavoidable until time and experience have dispelled them.

But against some native prejudices, it may well be, sufficient precautions have not been taken in the past.

Lord Curzon is admittedly correct when he says: "The institution of sisterhoods planted alongside of male establishments, the spectacle of unmarried persons of both sexes residing and working together both in public and private, and of girls making long journeys into the interior without responsible escort, are sources of misunderstanding at which the pure-minded may scoff, but which in many cases have more to do with anti-missionary feeling in China than any amount of national hostility or doctrinal antagonism." Even the Western handshake and the friendly kiss are grounds of suspicion.

Mr Julian Ralph demands that on this account all women missionaries should be withdrawn from China. This cannot be; yet every reasonable effort should be made, even at the sacrifice of freedom of movement and social intercourse, to defer to native concep-

tions of etiquette and modesty. But most missionaries have already learnt prudence in these respects, and some misunderstanding will be unavoidable until the Asiatic is brought to a more just and enlightened appreciation of the Christian domestic relationships.

Much offence has been given, at first unwittingly, by the choice of sites for mission buildings where the *fêng shui* or good luck of a native house or grave has been spoilt. In Tokio, Pekin, Canton, and elsewhere cathedrals and churches have been erected on high situations where they have been like an "evil eye," offending the earth-superstitions of the citizens; and some of these have had to be removed for this reason. Even railway lines have had to make a *détour* in order to escape any seeming dishonour to the graves of the dead.

Most missionaries have learnt, a few may still have to learn, to treat the sacred things and even the superstitions of the people with proper forbearance and without signs of brusque contempt. On the other hand, what can the missionary do to disarm the popular suspicion that he bewitches his neighbours and is the cause of their ailments and of droughts and floods? Much of the hostility which the censors ascribe to Christian missions cannot be averted by the most prudent care, and

must be faced and weathered in patient goodness.

But is the Christian religion the real ground of native hostility? In some measure, especially at first when the missionary's motives are not understood, it is. That is to be so far expected, for reasons already indicated. But that accounts for only a fraction of the antagonism aroused, as the greatest journal in the land, at a recent crisis, argued vigorously and proved. For evidence take the fact that, when native officials executed murderous edicts and refused safe conduct to foreigners taking refuge under their care, missionaries who took flight were in many instances harboured with the utmost friendliness by the humbler classes of the people, and even sheltered and helped on their perilous way by minor officials and priests who in the act were at their risk disregarding superior orders. In short, there has been no popular fury visible in such crises.

The missionary in certain countries is hated, not usually to any appreciable extent on account of his religion, nor on his own personal account —he is found to be harmless and kind—but because he is suspected of being an advance agent of a conquering foreign power. The people cannot easily understand his purely benevolent aims—especially where he has not

been tried by time and experience. Why has he come? For business? If not, then for what purpose? The answer, simple enough to us, only breeds mystery in the native mind. As Lord Curzon tells, the treaties by which the missionary travels and resides in the country were wrung from a reluctant government by shrewd scheming or armed force—witness the dishonourable interpolation in the Chinese text of the French Convention made in 1860. "Christianity," says Mr Michie, "is therefore inseparably associated with the humiliation of the empire (Chinese). The missionaries bear the brunt" of the animosity. Their presence is a perpetual reminder of the hated "foreign devils," and seems to threaten foreign domination. Like all strangers, *et dona ferentes*, they are suspected of hiding treachery behind their gifts, of creating a foreign disloyal party, and of being spies and forerunners of the foreign army.[1]

[1] Since these pages were composed a Secretary of Legation and Acting Minister at Pekin, Mr Chester Holcombe, has written: "It is far too commonly believed that missionaries are at once the main cause and the special object of the anti-foreign feeling so universal and so intense throughout China. The facts sustain no such belief. Missionaries as such have had little to do with this bitter hostility to foreigners. They have suffered heavily from it, but it is not of their creation. Christianity is objected to, not so much because it is Christianity, as because it is a Western religion. And those who preach it are objectionable to the Chinese, not as preachers but as foreigners." (*The Real Chinese Question.*)

No wonder they are looked on as political agents. The molested or murdered missionary has been used as the convenient excuse for military interference or for demanding "concessions." Under this false cloak Germany concealed her policy of "grab" when she seized Kiao-chau: would that she were solitary in such practices!

France has openly employed the Roman Catholic mission as a mere cat's-paw. Roman Catholics have for two centuries sought political power in China. With the sinister help of France, they have lately compelled the Chinese Government to grant them an independent status and authority as high officials of the empire.

Is it known to the British public that the Roman Catholic clergy have secured the right to sit on equal terms beside the Chinese judge, to impose their own verdict on the magistrate in every case in which one of their converts, or even one of their friends, is involved? When certain Roman priests travel, they travel as high officials, armed, and accompanied with a retinue of armed supporters. They have equipped many of their converts with arms.

It is to the Romanist missionary that the shady character goes, who for his offences wants protection against the strong arm of the law. When the priest takes the offender

under his wing, the case must be disposed of as he dictates. He can enter the courts and defy native authority.[1] "Bishops are entitled to demand interviews and conduct affairs with viceroys and governors, and priests with prefects and magistrates, just as if they were possessed of ministerial or consular rank."[2] They have established an *imperium in imperio*. Lord Curzon declares that this is the chief fear of the Chinese Government. That individual missionaries of the Roman Church deserve honour for their personal devotion and work is not in question; it is the policy, not the individual, that is here accused.

[1] See Appendix A., p. 175, for ample confirmation and still graver statements given, since these pages were set up, in H. C. Thomson's *China and the Powers*, A. R. Colquhoun's *Overland to China*, A. H. Smith's *China in Convulsion*. See also Dr J. Ross's *Situation in China*, and *The Chinese Crisis* by Gilbert M'Intosh.

[2] Referring to the resentment against powerful bodies creating an *imperium in imperio*, the *Times*, in a remarkable pronouncement on the above lines, declares that "a distinction must be established between the missionaries of the different Protestant denominations and those of the Roman Catholic Church." The latter have displayed the same fortitude and devotion as the former. "But the claims set up by France, and more recently by Germany, to exercise a peculiar protectorate over Roman Catholic Missionaries, and indirectly even over native Roman Catholics, and the methods by which that protectorate has in cases been exercised, must give some colour to the charge that, under the cloak of religious propaganda, political objects have not infrequently been pursued and achieved." (November 15, 1901.)

Such facts as the above are known to the natives all over the land. And it was under compulsion from France that these arrogant claims were successfully pressed. Is it any wonder that the people, who, at first, class all missionaries together, see in their persons political emissaries, and distrust and hate them accordingly? Is it not natural that some of the most shifty citizens should seek admission to the convenient Roman fold?

The hostility of the Chinese to the foreign missionary, which is raised in the secular press as the hue-and-cry against the whole work, is ten times more due to this overbearing domination of native authority and insult to native justice by the Roman Catholics, backed by foreign forces, than to any other cause.

Let the blame be laid on the right shoulders. Let it be known that Protestant missions have never sought, and have refused to accept, privileges so subversive of Chinese rule. "In China," says Lord Curzon, "it not infrequently happens that a shady character will suddenly find salvation for the sake of the protection which it may be expected to confer upon him." But Protestant missionaries have refused to take up the legal cases of their converts; they will not have their churches turned into a cave of Adullam. They will not champion even the Christians whom they believe to have justice

on their side, lest they encourage others outside to attach themselves to the mission for the sake of the protection expected. Their policy, however, does not avert the animosity which the different tactics of the Roman Church have brought down upon the whole missionary propaganda. It takes the Chinaman some time to discriminate between the innocent Protestant and the Roman offender against native authority.

It is charged against the missionaries that they clamour for a gunboat and the avenging sword when they are molested and in peril of their lives. But comparatively seldom has such an outcry been heard from Protestant missionaries. Quite as often it is the foreign Power, whose subject the missionary is, which feels compelled to go to his relief or to teach the Chinese a lesson over his sufferings. It would usually be as near the truth to say that the foreign Power takes advantage of the missionaries' case for its own political ends.

Now that a new progressive and more hospitable spirit is being displayed by the best Chinese leaders, it is significant that they are turning to enlightened missionaries for their help, and making use of the works of Western learning on history, science, and social economics, which the missionaries have translated into Chinese or have specially written.

Already there are signs that enlightened native leaders will call to their aid in certain social and educational matters the best class of foreign missionaries, as Japan availed itself of the invaluable services of Dr Verbeck when it awoke from its mediæval sleep and opened a new epoch in its history.

Political complications do indeed arise at times as the indirect outcome of missionary work in certain countries. But the converse is not less true, and true, not in China alone, but in every foreign nation.

The Christian cause is constantly complicated by the action which governments, politicians, armies, and civilians take in their relations with yellow and dusky races. This has been seen repeatedly in the making of treaties, the waging of wars, and the general policy of governments—in, for example, the French conquest of Madagascar. To be more specific, take for illustration the Government system of education in India (of which more will fall to be said later), the Cantonment system, the opium trade forced on China (which now cultivates the poppy but remembers the deadly wrong), the Glen Grey Act in Cape Colony and other laws which make it hard for the Kaffir to hold land and which drive him into locations, the settlement of the endless Native

Question in other countries besides South Africa, and the Liquor Laws adopted by the authorities. In these and many other matters of political policy the interests of the Christian cause are involved for better or for worse. Every public action works round for the benefit or the detriment of the moral and social life of the people, and in many ways affects the prospects of Christian work. It is easy to see how, for example, any unjust treatment meted out by Powers nominally Christian to dark-skinned races of the world conveys to their minds a hostile and false impression as to the true character of Christianity.

Not with politics only, however, is the missionary cause interlaced.

What experience have native races had of foreign residents generally, of prospectors, soldiers, and mercantile men? How have traders as a class behaved to them? Some industries have been started among them which have become instrumental in their development. On the other hand what has been the effect of the cheap and fiery liquor supplied to them on easy terms? The Europeans and Americans sent out to train native forces, to act as magistrates, or as professors in colleges, and to build railways—what influences and habits, wholesome or deleterious, have they carried with them? Has the advent of public

men and men of business been accompanied by the dissemination of sceptical literature, creating the impression among the enlightened that the modern white man does not really believe in Christianity? Later in these pages it will be shown how these questions have to be put in the same breath with the missionary question.

Enough to indicate here that the Christian cause, abroad as at home, is interlaced with the entire political, civil, commercial, and professional life by which it is accompanied. The world needs, not only missionaries and Bibles, but sound rule, honourable diplomacy, industries, and fair trading; and upon these hangs much of the success or failure of mission effort.

III

MANY RACES, MANY RELIGIONS

"East is East and West is West"

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KIPLING, when he put in everyone's mouth the dictum, "Oh, East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet," condensed what many silently think or frankly say—that the gulf dividing different races cannot be bridged, that the East has its own religions which suit its peoples as our religion suits us, and that it is not for us to interfere with what they believe. Men of a philosophic turn call in ethnic science to certify that the various religions of mankind are racial products, and cannot be transplanted and universalised. Like their rice, clothing, and languages, the faith that has grown on Asiatic soil is the proper faith for Asiatics.

You will hear it under the punkahs and on board ship—it is a sort of P. and O. theology: "These Hindus, Chinese, and Japanese have religions of their own that are adapted to their conditions and mind, as we have one that fits us. Why should we foist our ideas on them, disturb their beliefs, and undermine their

customs and simplicity?" Jonah was possibly the first exponent of the principle!

This point of view commends itself to the modern travelled mind by its look of liberal, cosmopolitan wisdom. It places the religions of mankind on the zone-system, relates them to climate and latitude; and it has all the more attraction for the world-wise because of being, in a double sense, latitudinarian.

1. But, to take first the practical answer, *solvitur ambulando*: it is too late in the day to bind Christianity within racial or geographical limits. History has settled this controversy in advance. To begin with, Jesus was not of Aryan birth, with our white face; His religion was not a product of Western soil, native to our land; it was of Oriental, Semitic origin, as foreign to Europeans at the time of its emergence as it is to Bengal or Mongolia to-day. When St Paul's vessel crossed the Ægean Sea, it cleft asunder for ever the supposition that Christianity is unsuited to different races. In that short voyage it was transplanted as far as the East is from the West, as far as Hebrew thought was from the Greek and Roman mind; and that was as far as Thibet, Japan, and New Guinea are from Great Britain. When the Gospel bridged that Middle Sea, it potentially bridged all racial distinctions all the world over.

We ourselves are among the alien races whom

Christianity has conquered and suited. It was the chief means of lifting our pagan ancestors out of barbarism, and has transformed our personal, social, and national existence. There is something inept, cool, if not ridiculous, in Britons viewing Christianity as an Anglo-Saxon property and not suited to remote alien peoples, when we, a foreign race, owe everything to it! Those who oppose foreign missions on this plea are hopelessly, gloriously in debt to missions in past times for all the blessings funded in their hearts, hopes, homes, liberties, and enlightenment. What if early Christians had adopted this racial policy—the very policy of the Judaising Christians who disapproved preaching to the Gentiles—and had argued, "Greece, Rome, and Britain have their own religions which suit their conditions; we have no right to carry on a propaganda among them and disturb their beliefs"? Happy for us that they saw deeper and ignored race-distinctions! Of all races in the world the Anglo-Saxon may well believe enthusiastically in what Christ can do for every human race. What he has done for us He can do for others—if we allow the same number of centuries in which to reap the slow harvest of moral regeneration. Let it be reiterated, written in large, illuminated letters: we ourselves are the fruit of Christian missions, the living disproof of the race-religion

plea. That fact alone meets a hundred questions.

And the past century's experience of missionary work among every race of mankind goes far to confirm our own experience. We have taken many hundreds of years to ascend from barbarism to our present state of enlightenment; but already, within one or two generations, tens of thousands in all parts of the world have been visibly elevated in personal character, and in domestic and social life and economic conditions.

Here the objector to missions has shifted his ground. It was first argued that it was vain to offer the Gospel to raw, barbaric races, that Christianity was too fine and exalted for them to be able to appreciate and profit by it. But after the transforming work effected in Tierra Del Fuego—which amazed Darwin and made him a subscriber to the South American Missionary Society — and in Fiji, the New Hebrides, Uganda, and elsewhere, the argument is reversed, and it is now said that Christianity is *just* fit for raising the savage races, but is not suitable or required where ancient and philosophic religions are rooted in the life and mind of the people.

It is certainly the "publicans and sinners" of the world-races that have been the first to receive the gospel—the Bantus, and Ainus, and

Karens, and low castes in Asia. It is among the "wise" of the world-peoples that we find the stiffest task. Yet among no people of the earth has Christianity failed to win victories of a decisive and convincing character—except perhaps the doubtful case of the Jews and the Mohammedans (is this because they are our "near relations," or because it is a case of "arrested development," or pharisaism repeated?). Signally in Japan, but in India and China also, the racial barrier has been successfully overcome, not only in the conversion of tens of thousands, but also in the visible transformation of the domestic and social life of the little communities where Christ has shown His renewing power.

There is indeed a sufficiently deep gulf between the races, which needs to be kept in view in adjusting the form of mission work and the expression of the message to the several races. The apostles to be sent out to the East must have aptitudes for acquiring difficult languages and wisely appreciating Buddhist and Confucian modes of thought, able to lay broad foundations for a slow process of Christianising great nations. Those who evangelise the child-races must follow simpler lines and may be men of more limited intellectual endowments. And possibly Christianity as recast in the different mould of the Eastern

mind may turn out a somewhat different thing from ours in its type and creed-language—as witness the recent trend in the Christian Church of Japan.

At the same time, as the English language, built for the concrete Western mind, has not resources enough to hold and express some of the subtle ideas of the Asiatic mind, so that full translation is sometimes impossible, it may be that only the mystical Asiatic mind will be able to interpret and fully realise the Oriental and mystical quantity in the Scriptures, which after all are of Oriental mould. The Eastern races, seeing it on the side that faces the East, may have their contribution to make to the deeper comprehension of our own faith—each a beam to bring for the great world-temple of Christ. But all the more may we confidently expect that they will be suited by a faith which arose on their own soil. (*Cf.* Appendix B., p. 184.)

Yet, on a larger view, Christ is not the son of the Jew, neither the son of the Orient nor of the Occident, but the Son of *Man*, with an appeal to the human instincts which are universal throughout the whole earth. Those who argue that the religion of the West is not adapted to the Eastern, and who quote Kipling's catch-word, should hear him out to the end of his verse; they would find him swiftly reversing their argument.

"Oh, East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,
Till earth and sky stand presently at God's great Judgment Seat ;
But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth,
When two strong men stand face to face, though they come from the ends of the earth."

The surface differences naturally strike us as enormous; but all are of one blood—for proof, take the signal fact that children spring from the union of a man and a woman of the most diverse races. Miss Kingsley told the missionaries that the difference between the Africans and themselves was a difference, not merely of degree, but of kind. But when black and white "stand face to face," when they get down to the deeps of their being, they show ultimate identity in their moral fibre, the same desire for love and good and life, the same sins—in Byron's language,

"New times, new climes, new arts, new men ; but still
The same old tears, old crimes, and oldest ill,"—

and the same craving to know the Unseen and be delivered from death and from the fear of its mysteries. With all differences of tongue, there is one language they all understand, the language of love, a bit of kindness. And it is the discovery of a great Heart of Love reigning in the Unseen, love that suffers in order to save, love that cleaves the gloom of the grave with

the promise of "another day"—it is this in Christianity which has its universal appeal for all men of all breeds, for all wistful, weary human hearts. If the advocates of the P. and O. Theology had deeper insight into the naked needs of all mortal men alike, and especially if they had a keener sense and appreciation of what Christ has been and is to ourselves as our one Hope and the secret of our best life, they would have full faith in the universal address of the Christian message.

2. Moreover, under the theory that Eastern religions are for the Asiatics and ours for ourselves only, we should be landed in a sort of Pantheon, and our faith in Christianity as an absolute verity, even for *us*, would gradually pale and die out. Buddha for Burmah, Confucius for China, Christ for the West—that is to create local divinities, and local divinities are pagan, involving either veiled polytheism or pagan pantheism. The Hebrews, who at first conceived Jehovah as their race-god over against other gods, escaped from polytheism only by at last learning to universalise their Jehovah as God of the whole earth. But they failed to universalise the scope of their religion. And when Christ revealed the universal Father loving "the world," it was left to St Paul to carry out the principle by proclaiming Christ to be for the whole of Gentile heathendom—

and it has taken the Christian Church nineteen centuries to rise to the height of this world-wide outlook.

If Christianity were not for these outnumbering millions of the race in the East, and only for us, it would suffer shrinkage in its scope, and therefore in its truth and power; it would shrink in the eyes of its own disciples, dwindling down to be one of the wistful dream-fictions of the human *Aberglaube.* Ceasing to be universal truth, with world-wide values, it would sink to the level of a provincial, parochial cult. Our faith in it could not then long survive. Buddha for the whole world we can understand; but Buddha for the East and Christ for the West conducts to a loose and easy pantheism secretly infected with the agnostic spirit. A Pantheon, where each community allows the others to have their several divinities, means ultimate death to the faith of each in his separate religion. "Heresies," said Lightfoot, "are at best ethnic; truth is catholic." Hence Christianity is ruled by an imperialistic policy.

Lord Curzon condemns "the selection of a single passage from the preaching of the Founder of the faith as the sanction of a movement against all other faiths." But, far from depending on the command, "Go ye into all the world, etc.," the missionary movement

lies knit in the very structure of Christ's personality, work, and teaching. Not only is the greater part of the New Testament a collection of missionary literature — the "Acts of the Apostles" being a record of primitive mission operations, and the Epistles mostly missionaries' letters to the little companies of converts gathered out of the pagan community—but the universal love of the universal Father—"God so loved the *world*" — the sacrificial suffering of Christ for mankind, the sublime ideas of the incarnation and redemption, with the vast vision of the whole Christian revelation, are out of all proportion to the limited, local scope allotted to it by this race-theory. Why all these supreme wonders and divine agonies of love, if the scale of their application be not world-wide? Our own belief in it would become thin and feeble, and melt away. The very build of it, the bare truth of it, requires its universality and calls for missions to the whole world so greatly loved.

Talk of "Little Englanders"! Are not they "Little Christians" who vote against carrying Christianity to other races?

Moreover, it is impossible to leave these peoples alone in their simple faith and unscientific traditions. Our commerce, with its ships — like shuttles weaving the web of a common lot and life—with its explorers, pro-

spectors, traders, and railways is penetrating to the recesses of every country. Our science, taught in their schools and books, is undermining the foundations of their superstitions. They are sending their most intelligent youth to be educated further in our colleges and law-schools. Over 100,000 of the most receptive minds in India bear the mental imprint of the foreigner's tuition, and they go out into the community with their old faith shaken at its base. The Indian Government, by providing state education for India's youth, is as much responsible for this result as are the missionaries. The Government policy, indeed, is more perilous, for it supplies teaching in secular knowledge alone, and is thus breaking down the old altar without providing anything to take its place. Western civilisation is marching irresistibly upon the people. Its new ideas, foreign habits, revolutionary knowledge, are invading their ancient preserves and even showing in their temples.

We could not insulate them any longer, even if we tried. The old is bound to break up in spite of us. The new wine of the West will burst the old bottles of Eastern beliefs. And what is to enter in and save the moral life of such lands when Hindu and Buddhist mythology and Chinese ancestor-worship are discredited in the eyes of the awakened millions?

If we do not give them pure Christianity before the complete break-up comes, how are they to escape agnosticism and soulless secularism? The sceptical literature of the West is already to be seen in the foreign bookshops of the cities of the East. Already large numbers of the disenchanted are finding a refuge in the sterile negations of unbelief. And, bad as a false or half-false religion may be, a godless, unspiritual secularism is incalculably worse.

It is the plain finger of God pointing the way of the Christian Church. So vital to our common well-being is Christianity that we tremble to think what will befall us should that saving salt lose its savour in our life. And if that materialistic civilisation is not to carry degrading corruption among the dark-skinned races, it must be accompanied by the same saving preservative; we must even be well ahead of it with the moral power of the Christian life.

IV

GOOD IN EVERY SYSTEM

The Cosmic Light—and Dark

IV

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NOW to go a little deeper into the problem.

The pioneers of a hundred years ago viewed all non-Christian religions as unmitigated error, either black superstitions or diabolic inventions and blinds. Since their day the "Sacred Books of the East" have been translated and the cream of their contents collected in popular summaries for the casual reader. The science of Comparative Religion has arisen. Sir Edwin Arnold's "Light of Asia" has blazoned Buddha's heroic, compassionate endeavour to find a salve for the misery of men's lust for life. Mr Henry Fielding, in "The Soul of a People," has exquisitely interpreted the mystic Buddhist ideal as seen through Burmese eyes. We have found ethical rules of a high order—reminding us of single items in the Sermon on the Mount—in the Persian, Indian, and Chinese Scriptures, profound speculations about the mystery of human existence in Hindu religion, and laws of family gallantry towards parents in Confucian teaching.

Many in consequence have been asking and still ask whether, after all, these Asiatic races have not religious and moral light serving their needs sufficiently well; whether, then, even though our faith be ideally the higher, there is any urgent reason for thrusting it upon them and upsetting their satisfaction with beliefs they hold dear. It is not only from adverse critics outside the Christian Church but from enlightened worshippers within it that we hear this plea for leaving these people to the light they already have.

Now, we should greet all such light with a cheer. Our only complaint is that there is so little of it. To deny or depreciate the good in other faiths in the supposed interest of Christianity is to show signs of defective confidence in its incomparable superiority. To attempt to make out their light to be darkness comes near committing the sin against the Holy Ghost. The more of it the better: it is so much more to the good in the common stock and store; it is so much more working capital in the resources available for further development. All flying shafts of light sprang from the same source in the Eternal Sun — the "Logos," or "Word." Fragments of the truth, "in many parts and diverse fashions," are only waiting to be released from obscuring encrustations and knit into the full body of "the Truth."

China contributes to the common store practical domestic and state laws, enforces the fifth commandment, "Honour thy father and thy mother," better than the rest of the world, and urges the homage due to the spirits of the dead who "live again in minds made better by their presence."[1] Hinduism contributes the immanence of the Eternal as the ocean of common being—and in a mode of this conception the Christian thinker to-day is finding a deeper basis for the incarnation of Christ. Buddha prescribes the conquest of desire as the secret of release for the distracted heart of man, and shows the "eternal process moving on" by which "from state to state the spirit walks" in æons upward or downward. Toward such segments and arcs of the rounded orb of truth our attitude cannot but be one of sympathetic appreciation. They, we claim, are prophetic workings of the Spirit. They also offer so much more common ground between the missionary and the Asiatic mind.

The human heart is the greatest of all the prophets—the mother of the prophets of the earth—speaks in many languages of symbol and phrase, and never dies. These gleams of light are cryptic prophecies of good to come, and for

[1] See the lofty, spiritual prayers to "Shang-ti," the Supreme Spirit, in uncorrupted Confucianism, quoted in Dr Campbell Gibson's *Mission Problems*, pp. 76, 77.

their fulfilment Christianity is indispensable. "Whom ye worship in ignorance Him declare we unto you," Paul's message to the Athenians, is our message to all superstitious worshippers of dim symbols of the Mystery. The blind homage which is addressed to the material shrine and symbol God may interpret as merely misdirected through ignorance; He may esteem and appraise it as really meant for Himself. None the less, however, the worshipper is not spiritually quickened and saved from his sin where such blind ignorance reigns. And, to meet the confused desires of his heart and morally redeem him, it is imperative he be told that the One after whom he has been groping through the mists is here in full glory.

It is more than doubtful if we can ever articulate Christianity into the Hindu, Buddhist, and Confucian systems, as it was related to the Jewish system. Yet the moral aims and yearnings underlying them Christ does fulfil. Their better contents, like the Jewish Law, may have served a temporary purpose; they have kept alive in some measure the spiritual sense of the devout votary, although, again like the Jewish Law, they have become materialised and have encrusted the inner life with a cramping shell of mechanical ritual. While not utter, unmitigated delusions, they are often so utterly imperfect and corrupted, and so distort

the truth, that wherein they have hints of good they must be fulfilled and consummated in Christ, and wherein they are currently false and debasing, as for the most part they are, they must be supplanted by Christ. "Some better thing"—that which justified Christ in superseding the Jewish religion—amply justifies His Church in superseding or crowning pagan faiths with Christianity.

The missionary, it is true, is apt to be a little impatient with such academic appreciations and balanced comparisons of other religions with the Christian revelation. He may, as he ought to, seize their good points, the wise things said by their own teachers, as common ground on which to start his address; but the common ground is usually only a jumping-off ground. He is face to face with so much dark debasement that it seems wasted breath to talk of good things in pagan faiths. And the early apostles did not depend upon such reasoning; St Paul was usually uncompromising. Great victories cannot be won for a new, aggressive religion by genial concessions, although the manner of the fight must not be rude and ungenerous. The native convert, too, seldom has much to say about the half-truths in paganism. We must allow for the polarity and revulsion of human nature to extremes in any change of belief like his; yet we cannot

but note that what impresses him is not the partial light but the utter darkness and falsity of the old religion.

But it is not the missionary and the convert we are specially addressing. The Western mind makes a more detached valuation of world-religions, judging them chiefly from their scriptures and absolute contents, and knowing to discriminate between their pure primitive form and their corruptions, such as, we remember, have in past times overlain and debased our own Christian religion. For the sake of such, the problem requires new treatment.

Why interfere with the sacred things of the Asiatic? The Hebrew religion, while only a mixed, imperfect symbolism of the truth, a stage on the way like other world-religions, surpassed them all in the amount of light and grace it contained. Yet our Lord did not spare it for the truth that was in it. "India and the Far East have religions of their own, with good elements in them: why not leave them alone?" People who speak thus should make a further demand: "The Jews had a religion of their own, with good contents in it: why should Christ disturb their minds and upset their sacred customs?" On that principle how could Christianity ever have entered the world at all on any field? It must disturb *something*.

Was Copernicus not to disturb the traditional astronomy of Europe in case he should shock men's minds for two generations during the transition time? Then also it is wrong to interfere with the childish ideas of our little folk and give them the fuller truth required to develop their manhood. The interference is no less commendable when we take to the heathen, not only what fulfils their symbols and glimmers of good, but what is of momentous consequence for their characters, lives, social redemption, and destinies. Christ is indispensable to them as the answer to their needs, as a revelation of the bedazing Mystery, and as a rest to their world-weary, self-sick hearts, bringing them a better salvation than they had ever conceived.

We have first striven to deal fairly with the light and good in these religions which find appreciators among us in the West.

"The God of Things-as-They-Are," however, requires that we look with open eyes at the bald realities of pagan belief and life.

It is the bare truth, unfortunately the truth, that these fine elements are far from being typical of the Asiatic faiths from which they are drawn. The tit-bits of ethical wisdom gathered from afar are dug out of heaps of superstitious rubbish. The mass of the "Sacred Books of the East" would nauseate the Christian

at least as much as the rare flowers selected for anthologies delight him. We pay our ready tribute to the humane heart of Buddha. But Arnold's "Light of Asia" is not the native article; it is a Western setting of the Buddha-story, recast in the Christian mould by one who has unconsciously carried over Christian ideas and terms for its interpretation. By Mr Fielding's own confession, his "Soul of a People" is not the every-day Burmese religion but a semi-poetic subtilising of it. Buddhism in its pure form is despairing pessimism, and in its popular guise is unhappily blind, idolatrous superstition. Superstitions as blind envelop the Chinese worship of ancestors (*pace* Lord Curzon, who likens it to the memorials of the distinguished dead in Westminster Abbey), and leave the soul without a God. The ancient symbols which once held striking imagery of the Unseen are no longer transparent but opaque, and obscure more than they reveal.

These races of the pagan world know no personal Father of mankind enveloping the world with conscious care and love, no redemptive suffering in the Divine heart, no salvation from sin as sin (only from the ache of life[1]), no Spirit of grace descending to make new creatures of evil men, no pledge of vital

[1] For a sane and just statement of the reality in Chinese emples, see Gibson's *Mission Problems*, p. 141 *ff.*

eternal life in fulness of manhood, no assurance of the re-knitting of family ties broken in death —in short, no adequate idea of salvation in its rich Christian sense. Their hopes and solaces are but adumbrations of hope and love. The average Asiatic millions are fed with empty puerilities, or with metaphysical abstractions which are out of touch with human life and void of moral elements. Or they are held under the terrorism of "Nats," nature-spirits, departed spirits, and magic, and are prostrated before grotesque material images. Religion for the most part, alas, is a matter of prayer-wheels, fortune-telling, mechanical repetition of incoherent words, and pathetic mummery—would that we could report it otherwise!

It is no wonder if these race-religions lack spiritual and moral power. Where, as in China, ethical precepts are given for prudential conduct, the loveless, impersonal code is chill and sterile, more impotent for making pure hearts than were Hebrew Tables of Stone, because lacking a personal God of exalted and exalting character. Elsewhere religion is practically divorced from morals. Christianity, it has been said, is the only religion which has for its aim to make men good; and the saying is true, if by "good" we understand positive inward moral purity and high character. The Christian ideal of holiness is substantially a new conception to the pagan mind.

Myriads of simple-hearted votaries visit the pagan temples ; but the faiths these enshrine are morally decadent, moribund, effete. They lack the dynamic power which is indispensable for the deliverance of men from the mastery of sin and the weight of material things, for the creation of soul and of purest manhood and womanhood, and for working social and communal regeneration. And they appear to have no power of self-renewal. In Japan certain sects have attempted a Buddhist revival, but, in spite of one or two such spurts of " Catholic Revival," the pagan religions have no resurrection-power like that by which Christianity rose in renewed vitality and might out of the grave of its mediæval corruptions.

The moral and social life of pagan peoples naturally matches their faiths. The missionary may see pagan life too unbrokenly black, not unnaturally having eyes chiefly for the grim moral degeneracy which confronts him ; at the other extreme the modern cosmopolitan mind, like Mr Fielding, makes light excuses for its moral evils. After one's young imagination has been fed on mission literature which painted heathendom as one unqualified scene of cruelty and vice, a black romance, it comes as a surprise to see the swarthy little children playing happily and the old folk sitting contentedly in the shade, to hear sounds of domestic merriment

and discover bits of human kindness. In every way it is one thing to read about pagan lands in books, and quite another thing to look on "the heathen" in flesh and blood in their motley life of chequered light and shade and their pathetic superstitions.

There are indeed kind hearts among them, domestic tendernesses, filial devotions, brave deeds of self-suppression — what Augustine perversely called "splendid vices." Here and there are enlightened men who see beneath the crust of superstition, disavow the worship of material objects, and revere only pure intelligence. In every land there are happily select souls, like Neesima of Japan, and the Chinese viceroy, Chang Chih Tung, whose heart God has touched after the manner of Cornelius. But these are comparatively few and rare among the superstitious millions. They scarcely count in the practical problem of heathendom (except as possible progenitors and founts of future enlightenment). And they are as little typical of the races to which they belong as Seneca was typical of Roman and Socrates of Greek paganism.

The people generally are held in a state of soulless stagnation and impassive content. "They are quite content as they are," say some, among them Lord Curzon. True; and that is the worst of it. They are content with a sort

of bovine contentment, as a race of men may be who have been held under slavery that has unmanned them and taken the soul out of them. Petrified by the unintelligent custom of long ages, they have little consciousness of wanting anything. More insurmountable than the Chinese "Myriad-Mile Wall" is the impenetrable wall of proud self-satisfaction in which the people are encased. The missionary's difficulty is, not to deal with pagan religions, but to pierce the Asiatic's haughty, supercilious sense of superiority and break through "the cake of custom" and wake the torpid soul and heavy conscience to the perception of moral and spiritual need.

Generally they recognise nothing evil in the vices which reign among them. Moral corruptions are rife, and they neither hide out of sight nor raise a blush. So widely is religion divorced from morality in India that the devout priest may be vicious without remark. What wonder, when lustful and debasing practices are sanctioned by Hindu religious rites!

When Mrs Besant went into ecstacies over Hindu mysticism, *The Reis and Ruyyet*, an influential Hindu paper in Calcutta, said: "When an English lady of decent culture professes to be an admirer of Tantric mysticisms and Krishna worship, it behoves every well-wisher of the country to tell her plainly

that sensible men do not want her eloquence for gilding what is rotten. . . . In fact abomination worship is the chief ingredient of modern Hinduism." And the *Daily Hindu*, of Madras, said, "Our religious institutions are a festering mass of crime, vice, and gigantic swindling." Lord Curzon and Mr Michie tell us that it takes a Chinese imagination, charged with brutal coarseness, to invent the horrible accusations levelled at Christian missionaries.

No need of the critic to remind us of the vices besmirching Christendom. But, for difference, the Christian conscience has always protested and fought against these evils, and is the great moral force engaged in reducing them. They have to conceal themselves as illicit. In paganism, on the contrary, they enjoy common sanction; native religion is not at work against them; they often flourish under the shelter of the gods.

Yet far more serious than all these evils is the moral torpor at the back of them, the absence of conscience in things unclean. In many the first work to be done by Christianity is to create the very sense of sin, which is indispensable to the beginnings of moral renewal and the cry for holiness—and this is one reason why missions, having John Baptist's preparatory work to do, take long to produce great results. Christ has first to develop con-

science, establish personality, and wake the flying ideal which both condemns and inspires. What pagan peoples—Buddhists, Hindus, Confucianists, as well as barbarians—most profoundly need is to be inwardly quickened, born from above them out of their moral callousness, to have soul created and the cry of the child of God waked within them.

It is remarkable how, when a people, like an individual, receive Christianity, an outburst of new energy appears. It not only transforms character; it creates a new type of manhood and womanhood; it sets up a new ideal of holiness such as the pagan mind never dreamt of before. But, still more, it opens new springs of vitality, awakens hope, and supplies motive-power for personal sacrifice and social regeneration. It is for such work as this, not less than for personal salvation from sin, that the world imperatively requires Christ and His gift of new Life.

V

LIBERAL THOUGHT AND HEATHEN DESTINIES

V

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UNDER the more liberal theology approved by the modern mind the ruling conception of heathen destinies has silently changed. Is the change calculated to "cut the nerve" of the missionary spirit?

Dr Morrison, famous as *Times* correspondent at Pekin,[1] makes merry over China Inland missionaries who picture the hundreds of millions of Chinese hurrying unconsciously to eternal perdition. "They tell the Chinese inquirer that his unconverted father, who never heard the gospel, has, like Confucius, perished eternally." We have no wish to deliver such men out of Dr Morrison's hands; but he must know that they are a diminishing number, at least among the better order of missionaries, and that the enlightened, if they have no clear theory on the subject, at any rate utter no such sentence of wholesale anathemas.

It is true that Carey and other pioneers, holding all to be lost indistinguishably who had not known and believed in the historic

[1] *An Australian in China.*

Jesus of Galilee, conceived the swarming multitudes of fellow-mortals in heathen lands as consigned by the million to a common, indiscriminate doom—actually brands to be plucked from the burning. (By the same relentless logic the men of the "Hard Church" had to leave to a like fate all our unfortunate little ones who had died in infancy.) If not saved—and was there any Saviour except Christ?—must they not be relegated to outer darkness? Otherwise why take trouble to send them the gospel?

Jonathan Edwards even claimed that the happiness of the beatified saints would be enhanced by the thought of the outcast legions, thus making heaven take toll of hell for its keener bliss!

No wonder the Japanese asked Francis Xavier, and Radbod,[1] chief of the pagan Frisians, asked Bishop Wolfran, whether all their forefathers were hopelessly condemned. Xavier writes in a letter in 1552: "One of

[1] According to the well-known dramatic story, Radbod, a candidate for baptism, had already one foot in the water, when he stopped and asked the bishop, "Where are my dead forefathers at present?" "In hell, with all other unbelievers." Withdrawing his leg, the revolted chief exclaimed, "Mighty well; then will I rather feast with my ancestors in the halls of Woden than dwell with your little starveling band of Christians in heaven." The story is told in Motley's *Dutch Republic* (Introduction), whether adorned or naked fact we need not here inquire.

the things that most of all torments our converts is that we teach them that the prison of hell is irrevocably shut. They grieve over the fate of their departed children, of their parents and relatives, and they often show their grief by their tears. So they ask us if there is any hope, any way to free them by prayer from that eternal misery, and I am obliged to answer that there is absolutely none. Their grief at this affects and torments them wonderfully—they almost pine away in their sorrow." (*Cf.* E. Coleridge on Xavier.)

That gospel, if they understand its backward bearings, must sound a strange piece of "good tidings" in their ears. Let Whittier express it—

> "Oh those generations old,
> Over whom no church-bell tolled,
> Christless, lifting up blind eyes
> To the silence of the skies;
> For the innumerable dead
> Is my heart disquieted."

This conception of heathen destinies has not been overthrown by the battering-ram of argument. It has been imperceptibly dissipated by the spread of a more liberal spirit. We have made discovery of certain good elements in pagan systems. We had dealt with shadowy abstract heathen under the logic of an abstract dogma; with the aid of travel

and reading we have learnt to *imagine* these human beings in their palpitating flesh and blood, and picture the awful issues. How *did* we manage to close our eyes in sleep of a night for thinking of these torrents of ignorant brother-men flowing unwittingly to destruction, except just by not conceiving them to ourselves in human face and feeling? Whenever such a stupendous unintelligible human holocaust came vividly before the Christianised imagination, the theory fell devitalised and undone. The sunshine of a warmer Christian compassion coming from the infinite love of Christ made the unutterable dogma pale away into the dim limbo where lie the shades of departed creeds.

Possibly it was the case of the little child that was set in our midst to test and smile away this belief—the little child dying in tender years without hearing of Christ. The gracious, illogical exception allowed for the child's future destiny broke an opening through the wall of stern dogma, and the opening widened to make room for child-races, for men and women who, in proportion to their opportunities, were not naturally worse than ourselves, but only less fortunate in their birthplace, for the generous treatment of people who could not believe the gospel since, unluckily, they had never heard it.

Enlightened minds to-day insist on a theory of judgment at once more scientific, ethical, and Christian than that which drove the earlier missionaries to the rescue.

Now any theory which either (1) consigns the heathen *en bloc* to "adamantine chains and penal fires," or (2) claims that, since they are simple innocents and have their own gleams of light and God is good, all is well with them here and beyond, is palpably false. The iron view is not more immoral than the easy view. The latter is inconsistent with visible, grim realities in the actual character of the heathen, and makes free with heaven and God's moral laws. The former, if realised, would strike with a rebound against God's good name and clash with Christ's revelation of the Father-heart.

To some the question seems a gratuitous and an idle one. They are content to leave it out of their horizon and obey their Lord's marching missionary orders—as obey His command we must in any case. But not all can close their minds to such a problem. We do not go seeking it; it comes seeking us. It is forced upon us by the change of thought, and by frank questioners in the Church and out of it who have a right to ask us what new theory has taken the place of the old. Earnest workers, also, ought to have clear ground on which to base their enterprise. We are very far from

seeking to settle particular destinies; we do not know the destinies of even the people about us in a Christian land; we only know the principles on which they will be judged. At bottom our rest is in God's fairness. Yet we can and must mark out the lines and principles on which, so far as present light takes us, God deals with the heathen.

We shall see later that the real question is not one of future destinies at all. Yet, none the less, we must meet men's questions on the subject.

Now—to take a negative first—it will not satisfy to import specially for the heathen a theory of another chance in a future probation. However far that may be permissible as a speculation, the Scripture about spirits in prison (1 Peter iii. 19), on which it is chiefly founded, is too obscure, too doubtful in its meaning, and too solitary in the Bible to clear up the mystery. Moreover, to ride off along this line is to seek easy escape from the issue. And if the idea got possession of average minds in the Church, it would still indeed be theoretically imperative on them to give the saving light of life to all men as soon as possible, but the working effect would be to "cut the nerve" of missionary enthusiasm. Any theory which relaxes earnest effort is thereby proved to have for us the value of a falsehood. We have no need or title positively to lay down close limits in any

veiled region where God is, but there is nothing here to work with or count upon.

It is not enough, either, to make special bye-laws for a few exceptional "good heathen," like Buddha and Socrates. We have to do with millions. The allowance must be regularised, the principle of treatment broadened down to the multitude and universalised.

The principles of judgment are the same for the heathen as for ourselves. The standards, the tests, vary with varying conditions; but the principles are universally the same.

(1) Judgment is proportioned to the good within reach. It is our Lord's own principle, that responsibility is proportionate to what is possible to each, to his light, capacity, and opportunity.

(2) The grace of the Eternal Christ operates beyond the area in which the historical Jesus is known.

(3) Judgment goes, not by the gross bulk of goodness attained, but by that faith in good which is the root of goodness. Destiny is determined, not by absolute present character, but by the germ which potentially is ultimate character.

(4) Salvation is salvation from present sin and moral death, not from destinies, which are only incidental to ultimate character.

One result of these principles is that we cannot deal with the heathen in the mass and pronounce them either all saved or all lost. Invisible differences divide them, equally with ourselves.

The common idea is that all will be saved who act up to the light they have. It is half true, yet suggests a falsehood. Not one of the best of the pagan peoples ever lived up fully to the light he had. Equally on the small scale as on the large, there is no man who has done as well as he might, none who is without sin, none who must not at the last depend on sheer mercy. There cannot be two different grounds of acceptance before God—one, the ground of merit, among the non-Christian races, the other, "by grace are ye saved," among Christians, from under whose feet all trust in personal merit is sharply taken away by Christian teaching.

Take the Road of the Scriptures to reach the proper point of outlook upon the heathen world.

The Jews—on what ground were any of them saved? We cannot speak of "the Jews" being saved *en bloc*, as though all who offered Jewish sacrifices were accepted in the lump, and as little can we classify the heathen and say of them in one breath that they are either all saved or all lost. But how was it possible

for Abraham and other devout Jews to be accepted of God without the knowledge of the historical Jesus? It will not do to suppose that they stood on tiptoe and foresaw the personal Jesus and the Cross in the distance; it is not true. They had their moral law and the knowledge of the one holy and merciful God. And they had their symbolism of sin, of sacrifice, and of self-devotion. Abraham was justified because he believed God, and that was counted for righteousness. This was no fiction; he was not righteous; but his faith in God had in it the germ and potency of righteousness. In proportion as Jews were humble-hearted and believing, making appeal to the mercy that was hinted to them through material symbols and imagery—in proportion as they responded to the light that shone—they had the mercy of God for their sins.

The heathen to-day are B.C. What operated B.C. in God's treatment of Jews operates proportionately in Asia and every continent and island which is not yet Anno Domini. That the Jews had fuller light and clearer symbols of the Unseen is beside the point here. God's method or principle is the same for all alike, when dealing with different races all of them B.C. The grace which was at least within reach of the humble-hearted Jew has always been and now is within reach of the Gentile in proportion

as there is similar response or appeal of spirit.

Were the redemptive virtues of Christ's cross, then, delivered to the devout Jew in advance without having as yet been acquired by Christ? Rather say, more Scripturally, that that suffering love in the Divine Heart which once for all in history became embodied in Jesus was a timeless, eternal reality and therefore available B.C.

The Cosmic Light, the "Word" or "Logos" of St John, "that light which lighteth every man," did not first come into existence in Jesus, but "came into the world" in Him, incarnate in human personality. As there was a diffused light through our universe before the sun, and as that diffused luminous mist became centred and embodied in the sun, so there was and is a universal "Word" or Light,—"Logos spermatikos"—an eternal Christ or Good. Everywhere in human hearts, in infinitesimal or considerable degree, there have been glimmerings of the Mystery and the Truth, bits of good and light and love. Everywhere the touch of the Unseen has been felt, whether interpreted superstitiously here or known intelligently there. Men have cast their intuitions in the form of symbols—the sun, or the image of the Great Calm in the still face of the Amita Buddha of Japan, or in the Jewish shechinah on the

mercy-seat stained with the blood of offered lives. These symbols, at first luminous with significance, have become obscured with gross superstitions—yet not utterly; they have continued faintly to signify something of the Unseen Good, or they have gathered up the heart's dumb desires for Good. And at the same time all men have seen fellow-men suffering and needy—mankind (with whom Christ Jesus made Himself one, Matt. xxv. 45) crucified before their eyes; they have met human need, and either ignored it or responded to its appeal to the kind heart.

Where and in whom among the peoples of both Christendom and heathendom God's all-seeing eye has found the needful response to existing light and good, no human mind can conjecture. How far He may have seen an outstretching of the half-encrusted spirit to the Mystery and the Pity; how far any hearts may have waked to the only symbol of the Divine within sight; how many or how few have shown a beat of compassion towards human want or a relenting over sin, or a humble, weary cry for help beneath the sky—these secrets can be known only to Himself. Our difficulty is not about the cosmic grace of Christ being available wherever among mortal men the fit response is shown. Our doubt is about the likelihood of any sufficient response among many both at home

and abroad. But, certainly, if God All-wise accepted the man who offered a slain bullock as a symbol of his self-devotion, we may be sure that He has an eye and an ear for any symbol-language of the human heart appealing to the Unseen wherever He finds it, whether among simple suppliants of the Merciful Virgin or others of the same order. It is not righteousness. But, according to Scripture, God, so far as it is true, counts it for righteousness; for it is the germ and prophecy of righteousness under happier conditions to come.

For judgment goes, not by absolute present character, but by the germ of potential character which is wrapped up in faith in Good or sympathy with Humanity. The penitent thief on his cross had not time to acquire good character; but in his appealing cry to Christ there germinated the seed of potential goodness.

Attitude is destiny. Not absolute attainment: have average Christians much more than their faces turned towards the light, more than mere seeds of holiness? But, however meagre their attainments, they have taken an attitude in relation to the light in Christ; and that attitude is the forecast of their destiny. What lies in heart-faith, however crudely formed, is the seed of righteousness, of ultimate character.

If anywhere, East and West alike, by dim or clear faith the Light of the Eternal Word

has met with response, there the grace incarnated in Christ may find the attitude of spirit it everywhere is seeking as the condition of higher blessing. Thus no one anywhere is saved except by the Eternal Christ—unrecognised perhaps, ("*when* saw we Thee?")—and except through faith or desire as the germ that grows to goodness and fruits in bliss. Whatever further scope or cycles of existence for the development of these faith-germs or love-seeds of good may come in other æons having their own new issues, we see only thus far, that the issue of this æon is determined by these attitudes of the secret soul.

How seldom or how often God perceives such germs of faith, either in Anglo-Saxon, Asiatic, or African, He alone can know. We are not one step nearer being able to say who among the heathen are blest and who suffer loss. We can as little assign destinies to them indiscriminately as we can to the folk who live next door to us—enough and well if we can forecast our own. To read destinies is not our aim in these pages. None but the Omniscient Heart-Interpreter has the materials for such discrimination. Yet much is gained if we can, humbly, discover the lines on which God deals with men of all colours and conditions. Even as to ourselves we only know the principles of divine judgment and the grounds of faith and

hope. And the discovery frees us on the one hand from the goad of the old, unthinkable horror over indiscriminate destinies, and on the other from lax latitudinarianism as to the needs of the heathen.

VI

CAN THE MISSIONARY MOTIVE SURVIVE?

Does Liberal Thought cut the Nerve of Missions?

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DOES this modern way of viewing the heathen relax the missionary motive?

Certainly the older conception of their destinies gave a sufficiently violent reason for missionary urgency. It held up a picture which was vivid, concrete, and therefore calculated to tell on crude or emotional natures. On the other hand, the unthinkable issues for these unenlightened and unfortunate millions, if realised in clear imagination, instead of offering an inspiring incentive, would singe and sear the sensitive heart, would stun the mind and paralyse the energies. The vision would overwhelm us.

What *is* the motive, then, for urgency in sending the gospel to the heathen?

The same motive as we find at work in the hearts of the first apostles. Not once in the New Testament do we find these ardent missionaries introducing a bare mention of heathen

destinies as an argument for evangelising the world. Their eyes never look that way. None of their zeal comes visibly from that quarter. It is not a question of future destinies at all with them. What impels them is the sense of the people's utter moral need and spiritual darkness, their religious destitution, their "lying in sin," and the burning desire to carry to all men the blessed news of the Divine redemptive love which has wrought such a transformation in their own lives.

It is the same sense of the world's utter moral need, sin, spiritual darkness, and religious destitution, the same sense of unspeakable obligations to Christ for new life and hope, and the same eager desire to convey to all men the grace which has brought us spiritual blessing—it is this that must, and does, serve as a sufficient motive for our missionary zeal. If this fails to inspire us, it is a sinister sign that we lack the very essence of the Christian mind, the love which flamed in the apostles' hearts, and that we have missed the true meaning of salvation.

Our conception of salvation itself has been changing at the very time when our theory of the heathen has been changing, and the one comes in aptly to interpret or correct the other. The enlightenment which has been enlarging our sympathies has in the same process been

deepening our insight into the true nature of salvation. Here enters our fourth principle, that salvation is salvation from sin, not from destinies. The real and urgent question is not a matter of destinies at all, one way or the other. It is one of present moral condition and character. It is not what we are coming to, but what we are becoming, that matters. Destinies, good or bad, while momentous enough, hang entirely on the character which constitutes their quality. The actual problem is, not the man's future, but the man.

Look at pagan peoples with the most God-like eye, and there is enough in their condition to appal our hearts, if we can see beneath the surface of their natural content. However large the mercy of Heaven, they most palpably stand in dire need of being morally saved from sin's degradation and spiritually enlightened and enfranchised as the sons of God.

Properly we cannot speak of pagans being either "saved" or "lost" in the full Christian sense; for these words are polarised, charged with a depth of moral significance which is the creation of Christianity, and their meaning is not rightly applicable outside Christian spheres. But we can speak of them being sunk and dark, needing the salvation that elevates and enlightens.

The old idea about the heathen—that they

were consigned to hell—was false in its crude form, yet it was profoundly true in the moral impression it conveyed. Take hell as the symbol of their moral need, of the measureless calamity of sin and inward degradation, as the awful canvas on which is flamingly projected before our imagination the unspeakable evilness of evil and the catastrophe it involves. When men could not picture to themselves the inward deterioration in which lay the true "damnum" ("loss"), this vivid vision of future destinies gave them the full measure of it, conveying the right moral impression. Because the old forecast of heathen destinies is softened away, some are being blinded to the deep moral destitution and darkness in which millions lie. What we have now to fear is the swing of the pendulum to the opposite error—that "it's all right with the heathen." And undoubtedly it will take time to plant the new conception of salvation victoriously in the average Christian mind; and meanwhile the missionary spirit of some may cool. But the transition-time will pass, and the higher motive will become as strong a dynamic as the old one.

If we have Christ's compassionate heart, we burn to save all, whether heathen at home or heathen abroad, from their sins and moral degradation, from the things which waste and

destroy their manhood, to redeem them from the power of the flesh and the world and all that defiles. Knowing Christ precious to ourselves and what He can do for all men, we thirst to see all spiritualised and made new creatures in Christ Jesus, to send them that which will raise them in character and make them full men completed in Christ, that which will not only enlighten, free, gladden, bless, and enrich their existence, but will elevate their corporate social and domestic life and establish the kingdom of God among them.

Such is the true missionary motive, and motive enough.

Even on a less tragic ground, why is it a matter of urgent duty and concern on a parent's part to teach his child the story of Christ and train him in Christian truth and life? The more modern theory of the dead child's future—does *it* relax parental anxiety to impart Christian light and teach him to love and imitate Jesus? What is the parent's motive now? Simply the sharp sense of the value of Christ to every human being, young or old—the perception of the child's need and peril if he does not get the saving power of Christ upon him; the sense of the native worth and value of being a Christian in soul and character; the desire to lift him out of

"the natural man" to "the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."

If that motive be not strong enough to inspire us with zeal for taking the blessing of Christ to the heathen, then Christ has still much work to do upon us to make us Christian in mind and spiritual sympathy.

VII

CHEQUERED RESULTS

"Counting the Game"

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"Counting the Game"

WHAT have laymen, personally acquainted with foreign countries, to say of the effects that missions have had upon the natives? Is the Church herself satisfied with the results produced? When sea-going people, traders, travellers, and civil servants deprecate or decry the missionary's work, it is commonly on the ground that it spoils the natives, that to educate them is only to make them worse, or that the converts are so few that they cost so many hundred pounds per head!

Some of the best civilians have a more favourable report to give. Indeed it is generally the highest class of civilians, holding responsible positions, who declare that missions are doing an immense amount of direct or indirect good. Sir Claude Macdonald, late British Minister at Pekin, formerly British Agent at Zanzibar and on the Niger, Sir Chas. Aitchison, Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab, Sir R. Temple, and other men of like position have been steadfast supporters of mission work. Sir

Harry Johnston's tribute appeared but lately in the secular press. And Lord Lawrence's words are not forgotten: "Notwithstanding all that English people have done to benefit India, the missionaries have done more than all other agencies combined."

Their verdict is not quoted as foreclosing the case. But, as criticisms from mission censors are so largely introduced in these pages, it is fair to show that men of sane and independent judgment, in the highest quarters where they are likely to see the work on the large scale and know its effects by long residence, express an estimate of it entirely different from the airy gossip current in camps and treaty ports. Yet one must deal with the average opinion that one encounters in moving about in the world.

First take briefly the question of numbers.

Dr Morrison, who has clearly been at school, mirthfully reduces the outcome of the work to fractions. "Expressed succinctly their harvest may be described as amounting to a fraction more than two Chinamen per missionary per annum. If native helpers are added, the aggregate body of converts amounts to nine-tenths of a Chinaman per worker per annum."[1]

Lord Curzon, more sedately, asserts that the work is "not advancing with a rapidity

[1] *An Australian in China.*

in the least commensurate to the prodigious outlay in money, self-sacrifice, and human power."[1] So, then, it is not the missionaries alone who, as Mr Michie puts it, "sum up their success" as "sportsmen count their game." If they do so, it is chiefly because the Church at home, not unnaturally yet unfortunately, calls for statistics of advance, and expects the missionary to produce his yearly "tale of bricks." But it is the critic, even more than the Church, that demands results and "counts the game."

Lord Curzon himself, like Mr Michie shows that the test of progress does not lie in the number of converts. "Much of their work is necessarily devoid of immediate results, and is incapable of being scientifically registered in a memorandum. They sow the seed, and if it does not fructify in their day or before their eyes, it may well be germinating for a future ear-time." He pays a tribute to the missionary's "devotion and self-sacrifice, his example of pious fortitude, the influence of the education and culture thus diffused in kindling the softer virtues and in ameliorating the conditions of life; the slow but certain spread of Western knowledge; the visible products in organised philanthropy in the shape of hospitals, medical dispensaries,

[1] *Problems of the Far East.*

orphanages, relief distribution, and schools; the occasional winning of genuine and noble-hearted converts from the enemy's fold."

"You don't get an adequate return for your money," says the man who looks on 4 per cent. as poor interest for any investment, whether sacred or secular. And a return he and we are perfectly entitled to expect. But how much does he allow for the laying of the foundations required before a new order of things can be built up? How much for the slow progress of rubbing down prejudice and distrust, for proving the apostle's disinterested motives, for lifting the heavy inertia of age-long custom, for breaking the trammelling yoke and bar of caste, and for mitigating the force of rooted superstitions and vested interests? How much for making dictionaries (as missionaries have been the first to do) and for translating the Scriptures?

And is the critic to count it as nothing in the balance-sheet that Christian missions have been opening up closed countries to civilising influences and national development as well as to trade? (It carries no weight with the Christian mind, but it might with the commercial censor, that missions have opened many doors for trade, and have brought back in commerce far more than they have cost.)

How much time, and how many lives, were

spent in cutting down the ancient forests of Britain, in taming and tilling the soil, in laying roads and building bridges, and making our island-home the rich and comely land it is? A long taming, tilling, preparatory work of a similar kind has to be done among native races before the rich harvest of human goodness and enlightened piety can be reaped. In the assessment of missionary results, how much is allowed for such preparatory, civilising, educational work? With all this in view, can any fair mind reckon up the outcome at so many converts per missionary per annum, costing so many hundred pounds per head, or expect more than a moderate advance meanwhile in the numbers won from paganism?

Yet, even in respect of numbers, the results sufficiently attest the progress of the cause. In one year alone (1899), excluding the baptised catechumens, not less than 100,000 were added to the number of communicants. The appalling fact remains indeed, that the number added to the native population of such a country as India by natural increase is larger each year than the numbers won to the Christian fold. But the multiplication of the Christian community marches in a rising ratio, and will ultimately overtake and outstrip the native growth.

The Imperial Census for India taken for 1901 has been revealing the great strides made by Christianity during the previous decade. The return for the entire continent, with the exception of the Bombay Presidency and Burma (the statistics for which had not appeared), shows that the number of professed Christians had risen from 1,952,704 in 1891 to 2,501,808 in 1901—had risen in fact by 550,000. In these returns European Christians are included; but, according to Sir Charles A. Elliott, late Lieut.-Governor of Bengal,[1] they are practically stationary in numbers, the same as in 1891. The addition of half a million Christians, therefore, has been drawn from among the natives. Within ten years half a million natives of India have been won to the open profession of Christianity. The growth in numbers has been thirty per cent., and that is four times the growth of the general population. It is not merely the large increase in itself that gratifies and reassures; it is the *rising ratio* of increase, four times the increase of the populace. And here, of course, no account can be taken of those who during the same period have become Christians in secret, and the larger numbers who have been brought within the Christian "sphere of influence." (See Appendix B., p. 184).

[1] *Times*, 3rd December 1901.

The increase of course varies very greatly in different countries. In some places it is disappointingly small thus far. In Korea, on the other hand, at Pyeng-Yang, there was only a handful of Christians in the whole region in 1895; by 1900 there were 2,500 communicants, while the total number of adherents was 10,000. Not counting the 500,000 Chinese claimed by the Roman Catholic Church, there are nearly 100,000 Christian communicants in China. And the native Christian community attached to this church membership—young people in schools, catechumens, families, etc. —is many times larger.

In Uganda within a single decade the number of baptised Christians has risen, Bishop Tucker states, from 300 to 30,000.

"Why, the captain assured me at tiffin that there weren't half-a-dozen Christians in all China; and here in one meeting are more than three hundred." This was said by a passenger who allowed himself to be conducted by a friend to a centre of mission work.

It is now notorious that those hasty visitors and travellers, and even white residents, who declare that they have seen plenty of missionaries but few native Christians have never gone to examine for themselves what the missions are doing. The Christian natives are not on

show in the streets: they are only a fraction of the heathen community and not distinguishable among the million; and of necessity the work is usually quiet and unobtrusive. How can the success of the campaign be known to those who only touch at open ports, or run through a country on business or for sight-seeing purposes? They depend for their information mainly on the Philistine gossip current at the clubs and the dinner-tables of residents who live almost entirely apart from the native's life and never investigate the work done by missions. "A little laudable curiosity and a braving of the smells and sounds of native streets" would reveal to them that, whatever the failures here and there, the floating reports do no sort of justice to the actual results.

It is from the lower and less educated classes, we are reminded, that the converts are drawn. Have any of those whom Oliver Wendell Holmes called the "Brahmin classes" of the community believed? Are the *literati* found in the native Church? And certainly, if Christianity does not appeal to the enlightened, grave doubt is raised—but not about missions, rather about Christianity itself.

But (1) our missionary experience simply reproduces Christ's own. "The common people

heard Him gladly"; and critics were able to ask, "have any of the rulers or of the Pharisees believed on Him?" Yet some of the most enlightened rulers, like Nicodemus, did believe on Him, although restrained by caste-fears from at once confessing Him. It is often the educated who are the most closely encased in prejudice; and, if most of the Rabbis and Herodians of India and China are the slowest to admit the new light, it is only what happened in the first days of Christianity. It is clear from the Apostolic Epistles that, while some of the well-born in Rome and Greece belonged to the primitive Church, most of the first Christians were of the commonalty, numbers of them slaves.

(2) It is what seizes the great common instincts of the people that proves its universal truth. What captures the broad base of the triangle shows the full width of its conquering power. And early missions in the Roman empire conquered the community by working from the humbler strata upwards.

Besides (3) it is from the lower-middle (not the lowest) classes—those very classes from which most of the converts are drawn—that the most virile life of the community is recruited. "As the husbandman, driving his ploughshare into the soil, brings the bottom strata to the surface and turns the upper strata to the

bottom, so in the upheavings of Providence the lower classes of yesterday become the upper classes of to-day."

It is what we find in the history of races. Some ask, "Are not the rude African races sure to be overborne and swept away by the civilised?" For one thing, at present these are multiplying much more swiftly than the whites. And just as the highly cultivated and luxurious Romans were spent, and were out-lived by the hardy Goths and Germanic races of the north, so the ruder earth-children and hillsmen of the modern world may have a large contribution to make to the stock of the coming race. By the same law the religion which conquers the simpler, humbler class in the community may be planting itself most securely in the generations to come.

But (4) numbers of the enlightened classes do respond to mission work, markedly in some countries if not so extensively in others.

In Japan, for example, in the year 1900 (*cf.* *The Chinese Recorder* for 1900) Mr Loomis was able to say, "The Minister for Foreign affairs and the Secretary to the Prime Minister are Christians. The honoured President of the Lower House is a devoted member and elder of the Presbyterian Church; and there are thirteen or fourteen other Christians in the present Diet. Two battleships of the first class

in the Japanese Navy are commanded by Christian captains. There are three Christian professors, and upwards of sixty members of the Young Men's Christian Association, in the Imperial University of Tokio. There are thirty Christian Associations and eight hundred and fifty members among the students of Japan."

If in India fewer of the educated classes become professed converts, it is partly because of the restraints of caste—numbers of them are known to be disciples in secret, afraid of the awful ban of the out-caste. Yet a Madras writer and philosopher, Mr S. Satthianadhan, M.A., LL.M., has shown how Christianity is being assimilated by India.

"What," he wrote, "is the influence of Christianity on New India? We have first and foremost a large and influential community that has severed itself entirely from the ancient religion, and has accepted Christ as its Saviour. Some of the keenest intellects that India has produced, men like Professor Ramachander, the author of 'Maxima and Minima,' Dr Krishna Mohun Banerjee, one of the first Indians whom the Calcutta University honoured with the degree of Doctor of Laws; and Pandita Ramabai, a woman of rare intellectual gifts, and well learned in Sanskrit literature [he adds other names of

equal importance], have found in the teachings of Christ final rest and satisfaction.

"But the indirect influence of Christianity in moulding the thoughts and aspirations of the Indians is very considerable. The unique personality of Christ is having, consciously or unconsciously, a supreme attraction for even those who are outwardly opposed to Christianity. Some who have come under missionary influences, even though still within the visible pale of Brahmaism and Hinduism, recognise the claims of Christ as the greatest religious teacher and His right to their allegiance, though they are not prepared to take the step that means the severance of family ties, social disgrace, and isolation. The most telling testimony to the influence of Christianity is to be found in the efforts made to read into Hindu religious doctrines the moral teachings of Christ." Of this incorporating process the Madras thinker gives living examples. (See Appendix B., p. 184).

Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen—head of the Brahmo Somaj, and never attached to the Christian Church—asked: "Who rules India? What power is it that sweeps the destinies of India at the present moment? . . . If India is encompassed on all sides by Christian literature, Christian civilisation, and Christian government, she must naturally endeavour to

satisfy herself as to the nature of this great power in the realm which is doing such wonders in our midst. India knows not yet this power, though already so much influenced by it. She is unconsciously imbibing the spirit of this new civilisation—succumbing to its irresistible influence. Therefore India ought to be informed as to the real character of the course of this reforming influence—Christ. . . . Christ, not the British Government, rules India."

It is by the diffusion of Christian ideas and of civilising and humane influences, and the general preparatory work already done, that the progress of the cause is to be calculated; it is not to be measured by the numbers on mission registers. Much of the expenditure of life and labour is of the nature of an investment; the large amount of capital sunk will bring its return in time to come.

J. Russell Lowell, American citizen of the world and no partizan, may be allowed to make the case acutely plain. When the keen scrutiny of sceptics "has found a place on this planet, ten miles square, where a decent man can live in decency, comfort, and security, supporting and educating his children unspoiled and unpolluted, a place where age is reverenced, infancy respected, womanhood honoured, and human life held in due regard,—when sceptics can find such a place, ten miles square, on this

globe, where the Gospel of Christ has not gone and cleared the way and laid the foundations, and made decency and security possible, it will then be in order for the sceptical *literati* to move thither and ventilate their views. But so long as these men are dependent on the very religion which they discard for every privilege they enjoy, they may well hesitate a little to rob a Christian of his hope and humanity of its faith in that Saviour who alone has given to men that hope of Eternal life which makes life tolerable and society possible, and robs death of its terrors and the grave of its gloom."[1] And this brave argument may be extended to the cause which carries the benefits of Christianity to pagan races and can do for them what it has done so amply for all of us.

[1] *Cf.* the present author's *In Relief of Doubt*, p. 66. Also Mr Meredith Townsend's *Asia and Europe*, chap. iii., a wise valuation of the situation in India. See outline in Appendix B., p. 184.

VIII

CHEQUERED RESULTS

"The Mission-made Man"

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BUT are the natives improved by Christian missions? Are the results morally and socially satisfactory? This, and not the matter of numbers, is the serious question. And it must be seriously and frankly answered. Let the lay critic as seriously consider the whole situation and do justice to the case. Readers will bear in mind that some of the following paragraphs deal more particularly with the situation among African, Polynesian, and other races just emerging out of semi-barbarism, while others apply to conditions which exist among the settled Asiatic races.

The late Miss Mary Kingsley—what piquant travel books about West Africa she has left us!—said that "the missionary-made man is the curse of the coast."[1] In India and the Far East we are not allowed to forget the "rice Christians" whose change of creed has in it the hope of better wages. There are very

[1] *Travels in West Africa.*

many among the lay community—numbers of them personally Christians—who declare that missions only upset and spoil the native, that they prefer the raw heathen or natural coolie to the mission "boy," the "red" to the "School" Kaffir. And they have come across cases sufficient to give them reason for what they say.

Granted that too often these summary verdicts are the result of light gossip among unfriendly or easy men of the world, that frequently they are second-hand and not drawn from personal knowledge, mere echoes which resound through treaty ports and foreign settlements and are caught up by the casual visitor. Something has to be discounted from the opinion when it comes from a certain class of European and American residents, who either (1) have little serious interest in religion and a traditional prejudice against missions, or (2) show a contempt for the "blacks" which warps their estimate of work among "niggers," or (3) lead a gay or money-hunting life which requires that the native be "kept in his place" as a feeder for their pleasure or for their speedy enrichment.

Yet this only explains a portion of the criticism, much of which is offered in good faith by men of credit.

The scandal is caused by two classes of natives who carry the mission brand.

(1) Some who have been educated at the mission school or college swell with vanity or independence, and are perhaps foolish enough to think themselves too good for menial labour. Without being bad, they alienate the sympathies of the white employer.

(2) There are others who have been educated without being morally touched. When they have got the education they want, they scale off all religious professions and seek only to get some post or clerkship with the aid of what they have learnt. Some turn out clever rogues. Others go away and sink lower than they were in a state of nature, adding foreigners' vices to their own, perhaps completely "going fantee."

It is these unsatisfactory or peccant classes with whom the shipmaster, the trader, and the merchant come into contact. It is the "wastrels" who usually gravitate to the ports and become known to the foreigner; the best are often "up country." The critic generally has the former in his eye, and they blind him to the existence of others of a very different type. Of the good, reliable Christian natives, no worse, according to their stage of development, if no better, than approved communi-

cants in our home churches, more will be said later.

Miss Kingsley, after paying a high tribute to the West African missionaries as generally brave and noble-minded men and women, says :—

"A really converted African is a very beautiful form of Christian, but those Africans who are the chief mainstay of missionary reports, and who afford such material for the scoffer thereat, have merely had the restraint of fear removed from their minds in the mission schools without the greater restraint of love being put in its place." "He 'rips,' but he rips carefully, terrified by his many fetish restrictions, if he is pagan ; but if he is in that partially converted state you usually find him in when trouble has been taken with his soul—then he rips unrestrained." It is on this account, she says, that "the missionary-made man is the curse of the coast."

"When trouble has been taken with his soul," the Asiatic may not "rip"—he is already semi-civilised, and his case differs from that of the African—but he may disappoint in his own more self-seeking way, when he is not converted to his finger-tips.

Such sinister cases—although very far from representing native Christians generally—must

be explained. And explained they can be, if we take a wide enough horizon for our outlook.

We must ask such questions as these:—

(1) What length of time, how many generations, are we to allow undeveloped races for ascending through temporary failures to the social and moral level to which we have risen only after centuries of slow evolution?

(2) What but unsettlement can we expect from races and individuals passing through the transition from a lower to a higher order of life?

(3) Are the cases complained of peculiarly the result of mission work, and in no way connected with the inrush of all kinds of foreign influences?

(4) Is mission work raising the character and life of the majority of the converts within the native Church?

1. *We must grant these raw, undeveloped races time for their evolution.* It cannot but take several generations before they assimilate Christianity, get it into their blood and incorporate it in the habit and traditions of their common life. They must have time for painfully learning the tastes and laws of an enlightened existence and settling steadily into a higher moral and social order.

Do we forget how many centuries it has taken us in Britain to emerge from barbarism and acquire some measure of the Christian mind and habit? More than a thousand years passed, thirty or forty generations came and went, before our race was extensively Christianised in character and social custom.

St Jerome tells that when "a boy, living in Gaul, he beheld the Scots, a people in Britain, eating human flesh; and though there were plenty of cattle and sheep at their disposal, yet they would prefer a ham of the herdsman or a slice of the female breast as a luxury." The first results produced among our barbaric ancestors by Columba, Cuthbert, Augustine, and other early missionaries—were they even as good as those to be witnessed to-day in Uganda or the South Seas? We have reached our present mixed state only after Christianity has been at work on us for fifteen centuries. Are we to expect untamed races now to come to the same level of enlightenment at one swift leap? It is preposterous for critics to measure the ultimate value of mission work by the effects produced in one or two generations.

Miss Kingsley admits that the children of the school, with all their shortcomings, are better than the others outside. That in itself is much, and is the pledge of more. Has there

been some visible gain, some step taken upward on the long stairway of ascent? In spite of bad cases, the majority of those who have come under Christian influence have made a clear advance upon their previous condition. That is enough to certify the prophecy of faith—as much as can be expected in one generation. The world is still young. These dark child-races are but beginners in life's career. They have the capacity of future maturity, as much as our own race had when Rome and Greece looked down on it with contempt. We are shortsighted judges if we pass sentence against the process of elevation at its beginning because of the blunderings of certain natives who, with no Christian ancestry or Christian environment, have failed to absorb Christian teaching.

2. "*The natives are unsettled by the missionary, spoilt by education.*" Even suppose this more widely true than it is. Unsettlement is inevitable during their time of transition. There is no progress for a people except through a stage of unsettlement and stumbling.

Are they too independent and self-important? Their swollen independence, with all the foolishness into which it leads them, may be the rude uprising of unbalanced manhood. They "strut" as though they were mighty; but that strut is the boy's premature attempt

to be a man, and, though it makes us smile, it hints self-discovery and coming manhood. Their mistakes in misusing their education and liberties are the first erratic blunderings which a raw people make in the use of their freedom, the first unsteady steps on the way to a civilised life.

"They are happier in nature's raw state." Perhaps they are—in the sense of bovine contentment, as a Russian *moujik* is happier in his sluggish existence without a man's rights than a free Briton, as the ignorant are happier than the wise. But such happiness is no measure of the worth and dignity of their life. Do we refuse to educate a child because he is happier when ignorant and young than when he will be mature and wise? Yet they are not so happy as theorists assume: they live under the terrorism of their superstitions.

Are some of them vain, superficial, unreliable, upset by having high "notions" filling their heads? No one—except possibly the fond *padre*—wishes to gloss over their faults—and even the missionary sees these with distress. But the same thing is said of the freedmen of the Southern States. The same argument was urged against their emancipation. The same charge was advanced—that they were happier and more serviceable when they were slaves,

that education and freedom upset and spoilt them, turned their heads and broke up the old, peaceful relations. And there was truth in the charge. Was emancipation an error, then, because of the unsteadiness and blunderings of the first and second generations of freedmen? Those may think so who live uncomfortably close to them; but we who stand detached are able to take a larger, longer view. In the course of generations the full benefit will be reaped. The unsettlement and errors of the transition time are inevitable; and they are no argument against freeing and educating the Negro.

Here at home the same thing is said: the lower classes are spoilt by being educated; they are too proud to do menial work—see the difficulty of getting servants! And indeed the disadvantages of educating the million are patent. Possibly they are being too highly educated in letters and too little trained in industries and practical work. But the abuse which the lower classes make of education is only incidental to their general elevation. The ultimate enlightenment of the masses is worth the price which has to be paid during the process.

If native races are unsettled and rendered unsteady at first by foreign teaching and

missions, it is only the inevitable stage on the way to their final maturity. The transition time is always trying. The first effect of new ideas everywhere is unsettlement. This is the universal path of progress. We must take the far look—say, across the same number of centuries as we have had for our ascent—and foresee better days. In Sir William Wilson Hunter's words (*The Old Missionary*): "A youth who starts life with such a wrench away from the order of things around him as is implied by conversion may have strange oscillations before he reaches true equilibrium or poise."

Many of the Negroes who revel in Christian emotions have not yet ethicised their life. But do we not find similar cases often enough among ourselves? The last thing to be Christianised in some men is their conscience in matters of practical conduct.

The American, so the old story goes, asked at Oxford how they got the College lawn smooth as velvet. "You roll it, and cut it, and roll it, and cut it, for two or three hundred years, and then you get it like this," said the gardener. If land newly taken in from the prairie could not quickly be reduced to soft lawn, as little can we expect to produce rich Christian character out of raw races without a long process of Christian cultivation. To change

the metaphor, is the germ of the Christian life set in the heart of native Christians? We must estimate the final outcome by what that germ of goodness is capable of ultimately producing.

The mistake of the "Exeter Hall" idealist is that he wishes the natives to be dealt with at once as the white man's equal, to be fully enfranchised in Church and State, and put on a level with our own race. But they are child-races, and must be treated as such. What alienates the sympathy of many a layman is the foolish talk of fond men who want to give them the rights and social position for which they cannot as yet be fully qualified. But it is not the missionary usually who is guilty of this fondling foolishness; it is the theorist at home. The missionary knows from practical and often mortifying experience—witness the vagaries of the "Ethiopian Church" of South Africa—that they must continue under guidance and control like children, until they have been trained to use their new privileges and have matured as full-grown men.

But that is no reason for keeping them ignorant and Christless.

3. *Is the missionary alone responsible for the results?* It is a perilous and often a calamitous time when the old "cake of custom" is broken, when custom-law, the sway of chiefs and super-

stitions, and the settled tribal rule are destroyed. The pagan order has, just as Miss Kingsley described it, lost its restraining hold; and the new moral order has not yet mastered the nature-folk and wrought itself into their fibre. It is small wonder if there be unsteadiness, blundering, and temporary failure, when there is "one world dead, the other helpless to be born." (See Appendix B., p. 184).

But even if missions were withdrawn, the old pagan order of fetish fears and tribal law could not possibly long remain. Railways, commerce, and the whole mass of Western civilisation will in any case proceed irresistibly to break up the rule of caste and race-custom and the superstitions of the unsophisticated. The missionary is not the only foreigner among them. By the confession of Dr Morrison and Miss Kingsley, he is the best and most humane representative of foreign enlightenment. Robert Louis Stevenson said the same regarding the missionaries of Samoa—and among the finest tributes he ever paid were his pæans over the missionary James Chalmers and the heroism of a native Samoan preacher. If these rude races or old-world nations are not morally seized and uplifted by Christianity, the old pagan order will fall to pieces all the same, and there will be no new moral and spiritual

force set at work to create a new and better order with finer restraints and higher law and custom.

We are urged not to destroy the native simplicity of primitive peoples. (The man who has seen them in the flesh indulges in a smile when the bookish dreamer at home talks at large about their simplicity as though it were idyllic!) But their so-called "simplicity" does not suffer so much from the missionary as from foreign trade and civilisation; the best results are to be seen where he is farthest from foreign corruption. In any event it could not long be preserved even if he disappeared from the scene. Our material civilisation is invading the preserves of all the primitive races of the world, and nothing can arrest its march. Therefore education—which should not be too high for their actual requirements and should be well balanced with manual, industrial training—and all our moral and Christian forces must be set at work among them, else they will either become a direr curse to all who come into touch with them, or they will racially perish.

The proper influence of well-conducted commerce is in many ways wholesome and helpful in the spread of the kingdom of God. The work of raising a rude native race cannot all be done by missions and preachers. It needs

the merchant, the artizan, the capitalist each to contribute something to the development of the people's industrial and social life. Some were disappointed when Livingstone, ceasing to be a mere evangelist although to the last a missionary, went forward as a pioneer into Africa to open up the country and prepare a way for commerce as well as missions. A statesman as well as a preacher, he saw that the people could never be elevated and enfranchised in the human race without a full civilisation being planted among them. Commerce opens up the country, develops its resources, creates new wants which compel the natives to leave their idle or hunting habits and settle to steady work, and lays the material basis for a new order of life.

Yet Manchester goods, railways, and the like cannot socially and morally save them. Commerce cannot make or mend character—and often in its train corruption follows. At any rate, for good and ill it pushes its way to every square mile of the earth, and it is everywhere breaking up the primitive "simplicity" of native peoples.

The British Government through its schools and colleges has supplied the best youth of India with secular education; and moral failure is thus far confessedly the result. It has turned

out clever office-seekers, who have "notions" put into their heads, in many cases prove unreliable, and think themselves too good for the old menial, toilsome labour. Their old pagan order and customs are upset—all the more disastrously when no new religious power accompanies the secular enlightenment to balance the unsettlement it produces and begin the long process of building up good character.

Sir William Wilson Hunter, K.C.S.I., specialist in Indian affairs, in his exquisite idyll, *The Old Missionary*, says through his typical hero: "The indigenous schools made the native religions too much the staple of instruction. Your Government schools take credit for abstaining from religious teaching of any sort, and in due time you will have on your hands a race of young men who have grown up in the public non-recognition of a God. The indigenous schools educated the working and trading classes for the natural business of their lives. Your Government schools spur on every clever small boy with scholarships and money allowances, to try to get into a bigger school, and so through many bigger schools, with the stimulus of bigger scholarships, to a University degree. In due time you will have on your hands an over-

grown clerkly generation, whom you have trained in their youth to depend on Government allowances and to look to Government service, but whose adult ambitions not all the offices of the Government would satisfy. What are you to do with this great clever class, forced up under a foreign system, without discipline, without contentment, and without a God?" There is no inferential argument here that Government ought to, or even can, mix with its education the saving salt of religious teaching.[1] Sir William W. Hunter, however, is an independent witness to the fact that, not the missionary alone, but the Government far more with its secular education, is a disturbing agent which inevitably breaks up the old order.

The transition must be gone through; there is nothing else for it under any policy, secularist or Christian. The disturbance must be endured; it would not be abated if mission work were to cease. And those take a very narrow and shortsighted view of the case who boggle at the present unsettlement and fail to look far ahead and see what will result when Christian enlightenment has done its slow, cumulative work upon successive generations.

Many of the evils which catch the eye of the

[1] *v.* Bishop Welldon in *Empire Review*, September 1901.

critic are part of the demoralisation always found where civilised and uncivilised races meet and corrupt each other. All the world over and in every century, the meeting-line of different races, high and low, dark and white, has been the scene of surging passions, bringing peril to the weak. The white man's vices flourish where he has lower races at his disposal, and the men of the brown or the black skin are apt to cast off ancestral restraints and "rip."

Have we estimated how the liquor traffic demoralises the natives and works round to the detriment of the missionary cause? Miss Kingsley did "not agree that the natives of the Gold Coast would be better without spirits"—she only thought apparently that they would be better without the mission school! But she is out-voted overwhelmingly by witnesses of all beliefs and of no belief. I have seen the havoc wrought by "Cape Smoke" sold to the Kaffir at ninepence a bottle—natives mad with it. The inflammable and unstable nature of the natives is easily set ablaze by the fiery liquid. This intoxicating curse, both directly and indirectly, mars and impedes Christian work. It accounts for some of those dark degenerates who bear the brand of the mission school.

Concubinage, too, has something here to

answer for. I have had an Englishman on the China seas complacently avow the practice, defend it, and assure me that it is quite the usual thing for white men in the East. On the contrary, one knows well that numbers of white residents among alien races are as clean in their lives and as honourable as the best of us at home. Yet every layman who has mixed freely with his kind is aware of the loose lives lived by too many of his countrymen when "East of Suez, where the best is like the worst."

Such things as these are associated in the native mind with "Christian" countries, and they hamper the missionary's work, and do damage to the good repute of the white man's religion.

"These missionaries are a curse to the country. They are spoiling it for the white man." This was said lately by a man who had gone up to Livingstonia to buy cattle for the North Charterland Exploration Company, after he had stolen the natives' stock, abused women and shot men who resisted, and had been overtaken, tried upon evidence before the English resident, Mr Murray, and severely condemned and heavily fined. An extreme instance, of course, yet not without a parallel in the Congo Free State where the Belgian

officers take their will of the natives, in the South Seas under the Kanaka labour system, and sometimes under the British flag. There are of course good traders as well as bad ; but too many of them exploit the natives (no guileless innocents, certainly, but what of that?) and use them in cruel ways that make every true man's blood boil.

R. L. Stevenson, while arguing that the missionary should do more to keep on friendly terms with the trader and win partial support from him, wrote from Samoa : "The missionary is hampered, he is restricted, he is negated, by the attitude of his fellow-whites, his fellow-countrymen and his fellow-Christians, in the same island." "It has been observed," the journalistic mouthpiece of British opinion has recently said, " with no little truth that the continuous object-lesson of kindliness, truthfulness, and integrity which the missionary conveys in his daily dealings with his neighbours, standing, as it often must do, in striking contrast to the vices of the ruling class, is the chief stone of missionary offence in the sight of the average Mandarin"—and, it might have been added, for the same reason the chief missionary offence in the eyes of many white traders, soldiers, and officials.

"The missionary unsettles and spoils the

natives": in what light do many (not all) of the men who say this look upon the natives? Largely as "black labour" for the mines and the plantations, for coaling ships and bringing down rubber, or as carriers for travellers or menial servants. They are wanted as human "beasts of burden," or as providing markets for our goods. In the eyes of numbers they are "unspoilt" so long as they supply "cheap labour," are subservient, and give no trouble. What are "niggers" for if not to be serfs of the white man's purpose? Perhaps they are less subservient when taught in the mission school than when "raw." But are they for ever to be treated as having been created for ox-like submission and ignorance? When a ship-master, a trader, a planter, or an agent of a chartered company regards them as existing to be exploited by the European and American, we know what value to attach to his judgment that Christian work "spoils" them.

It is here again that we see how our secular, social, commercial, and political life and action and our Christian work are interrelated and bound up together for better or for worse. The progress of missions does not depend alone on what the missionary is, does, or says. What is the general influence of the representatives of Europe and America in their

relations with pagan peoples? The legions of Christendom, when abroad in the interests of the civil service, the army, the navy, commerce, diplomacy, and education—what sort of moral forces do they carry with them, and do they tell on the whole against or in favour of the message of the Church's agent? On that much of his success depends.

From this comes the force of the argument often advanced, that we have plenty still to do before the people of our own land are Christianised. "You need not go to China and Peru when there are so many close to your hand who are as 'black' as you could wish." If, indeed, we could first completely Christianise our entire population and bring in the millennium by concentrating all our forces at home, the plea for this exclusive home policy would have weight. But unhappily such a plan is unworkable. The work at home and the work abroad must go on abreast, and each helps the other. All seas find the same level; and, in the close communication between nations in modern times, the various races will rise or fall together. Our moral conditions at home spread their influence far over the world. If Europe and America are not every way Christian, the effect will be felt wherever Europe and America exert their power.

The results of mission work among pagan races, therefore, do not depend on the missionary alone. They are affected by the entire weight, good and bad, of the commercial, social, moral, and political influence which white men bring to bear upon those whom the Christian Church seeks to Christianise.

Many of the sinister cases charged against the mission school are not the direct product of mission work, but are the waste-product of native life disorganised by foreign civilisation.

Of this, Christian work is not the cause, indeed, so much as it is the saving corrective, the full benefit of which will only appear when successive generations have gradually absorbed the Christian life.

But may not the Best be the enemy of the Good? The Hebrew race required to be trained in Monotheism and the School of Law and Kindergarten symbolism before being fit to receive the spiritual revelation of Christ. Can the uncivilised to-day dispense with this intermediate stage of gradual education, and leap from the lowest to the highest ground? Would not a religion inferior to Christianity, like Mohammedanism with its simple monotheism and code of rigid rules and penalties, serve barbaric Polynesians and Africans better for the first stage of their moral evolution?

But (1) it is impossible to keep any rude race detached under such a legal schooling, and ignorant of the Christian faith which is on the march everywhere. (2) Africans who have accepted Mohammedanism have not been trained and prepared thereby for the easier reception of Christianity. On the contrary, it has arrested the development of every race it has won. And there is no other religion which is available for the work of elementary drilling in legal ethics. (3) The purely legal method has been tried and has failed. Bishop Colenso made the experiment in Natal. He withheld the full Gospel from his Zulus and taught them the law of commandments, training them in simple morals and industry. When his preparatory work was completed, his "School Kaffirs," set free to go their own way, returned to their old paganism again, reverting to type, as others have "gone fantee." The full Christian faith has proved itself the most powerful for the moral development of immature races. It has certainly to be taught them in simple, concrete form by missionaries who have Moses' gift as much as St John's. The reign of law has in some measure to be retained alongside the Gospel of love, as it is in the Christian education of a child among ourselves. The transition for such peoples is a somewhat perilous one.

But it has to be passed through on the slow way to a higher life. There is nothing else for it. Let two or three successive generations absorb the Christian spirit, and it is seen that the Best is the best for them as for us. Our own barbaric ancestors proved it when they received Christianity and were schooled and elevated thereby. It is the one moral training agency in the world which suits all grades of men, *making* men as it saves them.

4. *But are the majority of native Christians visibly improved by the work of missions?* That is the paramount question.[1] If most of the native Church members are measurably better in personal character and domestic life than they were as heathen, better also than heathen of the same class outside, the weak and foolish specimens who have had mission training supply no argument against the work as a whole. It would be as preposterous to take the fools and the religious rogues at home who have misused their education and their Sunday School nurture and build on them an argument against the general effects and use of current education and Christianity.

Let the "candid friend" of missionaries, Mr Michie, give his evidence as to "the quality of

[1] See Dr Campbell Gibson's calm and wise survey in *Mission Problems*, published since these pages were written.

the Chinese Christian converts." "Few as they may be, when all told, and mixed as they must be with spurious professors, it is a gratifying fact, which cannot be gainsaid, that Christians of the truest type, men ready to become martyrs, which is easy, and who lead 'helpful and honest' lives, which is as hard as the ascent from Avernus, crown the labours of the missionaries, and have done so from the very beginning. It is thus shown that the Christian religion is not essentially unadapted to China, and that the Chinese character is susceptible to its regenerating power."

Numbers of the converts are indisputably good and sterling Christians, proportionately as consistent and trustworthy as the better class of Christians at home. A few of them have already the bright signal of the saint in their faces and their tested lives. Others have not the spiritual faculty highly developed, yet are genuinely good.

Many of these—cases from every country could be quoted in scores—have given clear, sometimes even magnanimous, proofs of their unselfish devotion and renewed life. They have abandoned evil heathen practices. They have been ostracised by their former comrades, their very cattle put under the ban of the clan

or guild, and have borne the petty vexations that gall the heart. They have endured persecutions, suffering the loss of their possessions, and in the last extremity meeting death with firm fidelity. What took place during the tragic siege of Pekin and in many Provinces of China sufficiently attests the statement. The letter of thanks written by Mr Conger, the United States Minister at the Chinese capital, certifies their faithfulness and their disregard of their own lives. Comparatively few lapse in such "killing times." Livingstone and Mackay of Uganda found the same loyal devotion in Africa. In India many have sacrificed family ties and become out-caste (*cf.* p. 184).

They learn to give liberally of their means for the spread of the Christian cause, in some cases organising missions of their own and maintaining them at their own cost. Numbers of them are proportionately more generous than the average Christian at home.

Lord Curzon, Mr. Freeman Mitford, and the picturesque journalist remind us of those who "find salvation for the sake of material advantages," for occupation and the foreigner's wages. Lively young soldiers and civilians, or *blasé* "citizens of the world," who themselves perhaps have no surplus of encumbering morals

and no religion to speak of, are ready with witty sallies at self-seeking "rice Christians." That some should enter the fold from low motives is only what might be expected. How can the most careful missionary absolutely prevent some such from creeping into the Church? Protestant missionaries do their best to sift the motives of enquirers, subject doubtful cases to a long probation, and impose various other tests of sincerity. Are there not some at home who associate themselves with churches from low motives, for the sake of trade-custom, or for social standing? As a matter of fact the "rice Christians"—professing to be Christians for the sake of their rice—are comparatively few. And they do not discredit the genuine majority.

"Nothing," writes Mr H. C. Thomson as an independent lay observer, in his recent *China and the Powers* (p. 271), "nothing has been so remarkable during the recent revolt as the extraordinary number of converts who have suffered the most cruel martyrdom rather than recant. Never again will it be possible to make use of the old sneer that they are all 'rice Christians,' converts only for the subsistence which they can obtain from the missions. The heroic way in which they have gone to a horrible death for conscience sake is the most convinc-

ing testimony to the sincerity of their conversion and to the noble work which those who have been their teachers have, as a whole, done in China."

Some, indeed, are weak and limp, "mixed" in their faith, with rags of their old superstitions still clinging to them. Yet they are palpably honest up to their light, and are blundering towards a worthy life.

The misdoings and defections of the weak and half-converted are no worse than the lapses of certain people in the early Christian Church whom the New Testament describes as "spots" and backsliders. St Peter had to write, "Let none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evildoer." If some in modern mission churches lapse temporarily into their old lying or vicious habits, it is not so very amazing, considering their previous lives, their present surroundings, and the blood in their veins. At Corinth, according to St Paul, equally great offenders were found. Yet the early Christian Church was none the less the most potent agency for regenerating and uplifting men in the pagan world of the time.

Miss Isabella Bird (Mrs Bishop), who saw pagan lands and mission work from a detached point of view, says, "It is a remarkable thing how anxious they (the native Christians of

China) are for purity, and how strong they are against anything which is inconsistent." Even those who err have their moral sensibilities gradually quickened. The reclaimed acquire a keener perception of sin.

In spite of imperfections, these mission-made natives are stumblingly on the upward incline towards full manhood and the Christian life. They are in the birth-throes of entrance into the divine Kingdom.

We plant Christ in their consciousness, sure that He will carry forward His own work in their experience, His Spirit steadying and training them in goodness. The Power which has ruled our moral and spiritual development may be relied on to achieve as great an outcome in their experience after its own type.

That Christ-consciousness, too, will move in their hearts, as it has in ours, to make the Christian cause self-propagating among them. Already numbers of them are fired with the missionary spirit, and "pass it on." Our only business is to light the sacred fire in their hearts, guide them as apostles or bishops for a time, and train some of themselves to make the Christian campaign their own.

IX

THE MEN AND THEIR METHODS

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THE target of the critic's shafts, when it is not the "mission-made" native, is usually the missionary himself, or his ways of working. And some of those who have the best interests of the cause at heart have pertinent questions to put regarding the men and women sent out and the lines of policy on which they conduct their work. It is in respect of men and methods that free expression of opinion, alike from friends within and from critics without the Church, must be held legitimate and proper. The sacred cause in itself is inviolable, the spread of Christ's kingdom imperative, and the ultimate moral development of rude races must be vindicated. But the missionaries are not sacrosanct, and, when any one takes exception to the policy which determines their modes of working, he is not to be summarily dealt with as though he were touching the ark of God.

In the eyes of many, the most urgent missionary question is the problem of men and methods. It is not within the plan of this little volume to enter into that discussion. It is

enough to touch lightly upon certain practical points raised by the average lay observer.

1. Dr Morrison has a passing tilt at the comfortable residences of men who are supposed to be making every sacrifice for the heathen. That the missionary has "a good time" and lives in comfort is the assurance one gets from typical "birds of passage." They point to his spacious house and his servants, and to the bungalow on the hill to which he goes in the hot season.

But (1) the cases differ in different places. In the open ports and other centres where foreign civilisation is established, there is no occasion for the missionary living in uncomfortable quarters. The surprise of voyagers at sight of his establishment comes from the common romantic impression conveyed by missionary literature of the old, crude sort, the impression that everywhere indiscriminately the sacrifices and hardships are alike severe. But in the interior and at many mission outposts the hardships and sacrifices are heavy enough, not measured by the cubic space of the house—the house itself inevitably mean, and other conditions of life, not understood at home or by the passer-by, sufficiently taxing to patience, offensive to white folks' sensibilities, and perilous to family life.

Further, (2) often the mission building com-

bines boarding-school premises with the missionary's house. The writer has stayed in such a mission house in the East, where half the spacious building was devoted to boarding-school purposes.

(3) The health of all white men, missionaries as well as civilians, in hot climates demands, where obtainable, airy room-space and verandah protection against the sun. It is this that largely accounts for the spacious appearance of some mission houses.

(4) The mission house in open ports and central points has to accommodate passing missionaries on their way to the interior or remote regions—and one could tell of lay travellers for whom the missionary has brought out his best and provided entertainment on a scale beyond what he can ordinarily afford, and who have gone their way and written about the luxury of the missionary's life!

(5) There is no virtue in the ascetic life when lived for its own sake. Poverty in the foreigner does not impress the native—quite the contrary. It is quite true that some men make themselves more comfortable than the conditions justify; a few may be found who feather their own nests; and mission property is sometimes constructed on an unduly grand scale. But these cases are very far from being typical of the life and homes of the vast majority of missionaries.

The Vicarage and the Manse at home are not usually the meanest in the parish. And the home Church may properly wish to establish the missionary in the moderate comfort that is available. In any case he has usually plenty of disabilities and hardships—loneliness, loss of kindred society for his family, discouragements which he must consume alone, and the incessant tax put upon his patience by the irresponsible, slow, "wait-a-bit" ways of the natives with whom he has to deal.

2. The thousands of male and female missionaries, as a matter of course, vary in calibre, education, wisdom, aptitudes and tact—vary as much as Christian ministers and workers at home. If the incompetent, the over-zealous, and the misguided are there, it is largely because raw novices and new-caught zealots have precipitated themselves upon the mission-field, and because it has too often been thought that distinct mental endowments are not so requisite abroad as at home.

Lord Curzon has cause to animadvert on "irresponsible itinerants" who are a law unto themselves, and to say that "impulsive virtue and raw enthusiasm are not necessarily the best credentials for a missionary career." Certain societies and movements in particular have something to answer for in this respect.

"On the ship bound for China," wrote Mr Julian Ralph as hot-haste journalist, "I was struck by the mediocre mental character of too many of the men. They are often villagers and men of the narrowest horizon." But even mere "villagers" and "mediocre men" may do laborious and useful service. Yet it is certain that the permanent success and good repute of the missionary cause can be greatly assisted by the elimination of volunteers who have little to recommend them beyond their earnest spirit. The raw and callow, untrained in the guidance of life, ignorant of human nature, with narrow view of God and His treatment of the pagan peoples, and with no room beside their "one idea" for the march of civilisation, do indeed win genuine converts and often show a heroic evangelising spirit, but they are the civilian's stumbling-block, and they are not the men to grapple with the larger problems of paganism, nor to deal wisely with the shrewd questions of the heathen critic. Are they adequately equipped if they have made no real acquaintance with the mental attitude of the people whose religions they seek to displace with Christianity? Wise selection from the volunteers is imperative, and will contribute much to the highest success of the mission cause. And means should be taken, as Henry Drummond so strongly urged after his visit to many

mission fields, that each be sent to the country for which he is naturally fitted.

The very best that the Church can find are wanted—broad-minded, big-hearted, level-headed men, able to grasp the larger issues of the work as well as deal with the individual soul, fired with a Christian earnestness which burns on steadily without being consumed with its own vehemence. There is need of statesmanship, generalship, scholarship, as well as of evangelising activity. The career of a missionary in an ancient land offers the amplest scope for the highest gifts. It is a career which may well captivate any young man of spirit, which will give him the fullest outlet for all his powers, and which will satisfy his best ambitions.

There are many such men on the field, men who would have taken front rank in the home-service of the Christian Church. One cannot know the missionaries in any country without receiving from the majority of them a strong impression of their patient fidelity, level-headed caution, and brave unacknowledged devotion. Men who are as capable as the rest of their brethren at home—one feels it an impertinence to give *them* a character.

They have their own special temptations, frankly described by Dr Wenyon. They are their own masters as a rule, far from those to

whom they are humanly responsible, and may grow languorous in hot countries, or masterful as do many white men living among dusky races. They, like soldiers long in the field, are liable to become "stale," weary-hearted under the unrelieved pressure of hostile, immovable paganism—and the way in which this immovable, contented paganism oppresses the hearts of sensitive missionaries can scarcely be conceived by the home-Christian in a religious environment. Against such perils they have to brace themselves—none the less although they have Divine supports and a religious mission—and the risks attending their depression should commend them to general sympathy and be remembered by the intercessors at home. But, despite all temptations, as a class their lives are beyond cavil.

Captain Younghusband, the experienced traveller in the Far East, wrote: "Missionaries no more than other human beings are free from mistakes of judgment. But I have before now publicly testified to the noble and self-sacrificing work of missionaries which I have seen with my own eyes in the far interior of China. . . . The most important and the most far-reaching work in China is not done by our official representatives, nor by our enterprising merchants, but by that great body of Christian men—and women too—who are giving their lives to impart

to the Chinese the accumulated knowledge of the West."[1]

Robert Louis Stevenson wrote: "I suppose I am in the position of many other persons. I had conceived a great prejudice against missions in the South Seas, and I had no sooner come there than that prejudice was at first reduced, and then at last annihilated. Those who deblatterate against missions have only one thing to do, to come and see them on the spot." They will, he says, see harm done—"infallibly in all sublunary affairs." But "they will see a great deal of good done; they will see a race being forwarded in many directions, and I believe, if they be honest persons, they will cease to complain of mission work and its effects." The earlier missionaries "broke the tabus," and generally were too radical and iconoclastic. The new class "think that it is best to proceed by little and little, to spare so far as it is possible native opinions and set native habits of morality, to seek rather the point of agreement than the points of difference." "The true art of the missionary, as it seems to me—an outsider, the most lay of laymen, and for that reason, on the old principle that the bystander sees most of the game, perhaps more than usually well able to judge—is to profit by the vast amount of moral

[1] *Times*, 19th Nov. 1901.

force reservoired in every race, and to expand and fit that power to new ideas and to new possibilities of advancement."

The missionary errs, he thinks—his individual opinion on this point is at least worth recording—in looking askance on the white traders, who are indeed of mixed character, but who, by more considerate treatment, might be themselves made better and might also be raised up "a brigade of half and half supporters" of the work. But "those who have a taste for hearing missions, Protestant or Catholic, decried, must seek their pleasure elsewhere than in my pages."[1]

Dr Morrison, Miss Kingsley, and other typical critics speak in like terms.

The bulk of missionaries, however, are above the need of either testimonial or defence. Their life and work speak for them. We only quote these verdicts from outside as a means of satisfying readers who discount what the Church says about the work.

3. On the graver questions of policy and methods we have "many men many minds." It would be vain to discuss the educational policy *v.* evangelistic policy in India without intimately knowing the conditions and going thoroughly into the very serious and difficult problem—and that is not for these pages. But

[1] *Life of R. L. Stevenson*, ii. 193, and *In the South Seas*.

apparently native education has been too scholastic and been carried too far.[1]

A "century of experiments" has passed, and some points have become clear.

(1) It is Christianity in its primitive simplicity, not the theological creeds of the West, that the missionary has to deliver to the pagan world. It is but a small "body of divinity" that he has to carry with him—the body of Christian essentials. Other races will secrete their own interpretation of Christ's revelation. Perhaps the Asiatic will penetrate more deeply into its mystic meanings than has been possible for the matter-of-fact European.

(2) The Bible must be set in its proper perspective, the Gospels and the Apostolic Epistles in the forefront as alone indispensable. Ought those portions of the older Scriptures over which we ourselves still stumble to be translated at once, or to be imposed as on the same level of authority as the Christian documents? Some parts of *their* Old Testament might be drawn from the higher prophetic and preparatory elements in their own old systems of religion. Questions of Bible criticism, of course, are not for them; but we must so

[1] On the question in South Africa see Dr Stewart's *Experiment of Native Education*—brave warnings addressed to Kaffir students at Lovedale. On the question in India the late Sir William Wilson Hunter has something to say in *The Old Missionary*.

represent the Hebrew revelation to the native Christians that they shall not have to pass through the crisis of re-adjustment which has been imposed on us by mistaken teaching in the past.

(3) Decaying races are not to be neglected because they may not survive the centuries or dominate future history. The mission in the New Hebrides, said Henry Drummond, has no place in the evolutionary career of mankind. "It belongs to the Order of the Good Samaritan. It is a mission of pure benevolence." Our Lord had compassion, and has taught us to have compassion, on the waste and useless lives. And the races that are likely to vanish need the gospel as much as single individuals. Yet it must be the supreme aim of missionary strategy to win those races that bid fair to shape the history of future generations.

(4) Industrial training, it is felt, must play a larger part in the scheme of missions than formerly. To educate raw races in their heads and not in equal measure in their hands and eyes—in husbandry and handicrafts—is to disqualify them for the career which most of them must follow. Habits of industry are indispensable to their progress, and it is for lack of such habits that numbers of them come to grief. Lavish Nature has hitherto provided

easily for their needs; competition and pressure from white races will enter their arena and compel them to work. In the direction of industrial equipment, happily, numbers of missionary institutions are developing their educational scheme.

(5) Do not missionaries among half-barbaric races place too much stress on getting the people clothed? The "reds" in Africa are healthier than the "School" natives (who carry on their back their whole ill-matched outfit, which when soaked with wet causes illness). Yet it is in some measure true of Adamic races, as it was of Adam and Eve, that, when their eyes are opened to themselves in moral consciousness, they know themselves naked and are ashamed. That desire for covering means a discovery of shame and therefore a new instinct or finer sense of virtue. At the same time, numbers of missionaries seem to think that the natives are not properly Christianised unless taught the foreigner's habits. This is not included in the missionary aim.

(6) Policy and methods of work are determined in many cases when we determine what is the missionary aim and final object.

Henry Drummond reported: "It is the deliberate opinion of many who know China intimately, who are missionaries themselves, that half the preaching, especially the itiner-

ating preaching, carried on throughout the empire is absolutely useless." A certain amount of itinerant preaching is imperative, indeed, and indispensable for pioneering purposes. But it will count for less or more according to the ruling object which the missionary has in view.

What is the ruling idea and aim that will inspire the wisest missionary policy and dictate the best methods? This question the next chapter will seek to answer.

X

THE AIM

The Coming Kingdom

X

THE AIM:

The Coming Kingdom

WAS Livingstone right in the ruling object he had in view, in his missionary ideal? Those who believe that the end of the present dispensation, with the Second Coming of Christ, is at hand do not believe in Livingstone's aim, which may be called "national Christianisation." As they believe the present world-order is soon to pass away, their plan of campaign is to "gather out" from the nations those who are Christ's "own." We are to preach the Gospel "for a witness," and, when all have heard it and had their chance, then cometh the end.

"For a witness": it would seem as though the Gospel were to be proclaimed to all "for a witness" *against* them, to the end that they may be without excuse and God may be technically in the right in condemning them. Does not this give rather a sinister bearing to mission work?

This aim determines the whole of their missionary policy. It is the evangelist's business

to rapidly evangelise everywhere, and his *modus operandi* is to itinerate. He lays no large foundations, because his scheme has no great human future. He addresses himself to the individual alone, and does not seek to establish a Christian community-life. Mere "outgathering" is his aim.

Many who labour with this as their sole object are among the most devoted missionaries, and they have their own harvest and reward. They are contributing towards the great issue; but that issue is larger than they know. And their aim and methods of working have some unfortunate effects.

No; the Christian aim is to establish the entire kingdom of God among all the nations of the earth. It is to do the whole work of Christianity in individual hearts and in the national life. It is to do for Asia, Africa, the West Indies, and the Pacific Islands everything and all that Christ has been the means of doing for our personal and social life—to achieve a corporate as well as an individual salvation. Among races now pagan there is to be the same "outgathering" as there has been among the Western races. Christ cannot get His own out of Asia and Africa unless His full kingdom is broad-based there in the Christian commonweal. How many of ourselves would have been "gathered out" from the world if the

social life and national conditions of our land had not been Christianised?

The first work of the missionary is to win individual converts to the faith and service of Christ as Saviour and Lord; and this effort continues to the end. But, with equal step, he must endeavour to lay broad foundations for the social, educational, national, and economic redemption and elevation of the people to whom he is sent. The Empire of Christ has to be planted in the community-life of the nations. Only then can it put the people in a position to receive the new spiritual life, and so win the "great multitude which no man can number out of *all nations and kindreds*."

We must prepare for permanency. If any event beyond our calculation, if another Advent of Christ (even supposing it to be of an external, dramatic character), were to arrest the work in mid-course, we should be best prepared for it by doing the whole work of Christianity. If this work of Christianising the communities of men throughout their whole life is restrained by the expectation of an immediate Second Coming, that expectation is in the very act raising another argument against itself. Truth, when rightly understood, does not cramp the Christian aim nor limit the benefits which its spokesmen carry with them.

Some who pray earnestly for the hastening

of the coming of Christ hold such a theory of the course of prophetic events that their prayer can only be answered by the hastening of the increase of wickedness and apostacy. One thing is sure, not the "times and seasons," but that we can best help Christ to bless the world by establishing His many-sided kingdom in the entire life of mankind.

With this aim before us, our plans are laid, not for "the casual sharpshooter bringing down his man here and there," but for the slow, lasting regeneration of the human race. Our method of working is so determined as to lay foundations for a huge structure, to sow seed for future generations to reap. And our hearts do not fail us in presence of slow progress and the imperfections of the native converts. The upward movement is but beginning. The world moves slowly, but *it moves*. The kingdom of Christ comes gradually, and "without observation." What God makes slowly he means to last.

XI

THE RETURN-VALUE OF MISSIONS

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THE past century's experience of mission work —not to speak of earlier times—has sufficiently justified the faith of the pioneers. It required audacious faith on their part to confront the world's gigantic heathenism with nothing but the gospel of Jesus in their hands and call it to surrender. Was faith ever more daring than when St Paul faced the Roman Empire and Greek learning, and foresaw them yield to the Son of Man? Yet the answer of time confirmed his faith.

To stand to-day in some Asiatic, African, or Polynesian centre, surrounded by pagan customs, pagan temples, and pagan apathy, to be one among a few indistinguishable Christians in presence of millions who are fast-bound in the universal paganism, and to stand up to it and believe that the gospel of Christ can conquer and regenerate the whole—this demands the faith that moves mountains. To look on caste-bound Asiatics, and especially on raw barbarians who are, in Kipling's language,

> "Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
> Half devil and half child,"

and to find the capacity of full-grown manhood in them, and foresee that out of that crude material can be wrought the rich Christian character—one's faith might well stagger at the prophecy.

We have passed the experimental stage, however, and that faith is sufficiently attested by the witness of experience. It is only as they cast their eyes over the work of ten or twenty years that missionaries see much measurable increase and improvement. Yet from that small arc it is possible to infer what curve and course the future is to make. There are foretokens that what Coleridge called "the miracle of Christendom" is to be followed by the miracle of Asia and Africa, the miracle of the world. The Gospel works. The world goes round the sun. We have as much to go upon for this faith as Newton had when he inferred from local observation that the law of gravitation controls the universe. We have our Newtonian principle, in the faith that the world will answer to the attraction of Christ's gospel.

Livingstone said that Dr Moffat foresaw homesteads and railways covering Africa and steamboats plying on its lakes. His anticipation is already some distance on its way to fulfilment. From these homesteads, he said, the sound of Christian worship would be heard; and we

have foretokens of that prophecy's fulfilment also.

Dr Duff, "father of the faithful" though he was, had not faith enough to believe that India's womanhood could be enlightened. "Female education in India, so far as I can see, is hopeless. You might as well try to scale a wall five hundred yards high as attempt to give Christian education to either the women or the girls of India." Yet already in Bengal alone there are about 100,000 girls receiving education, three-fourths of them an education under Christian teachers.

The beneficent social work being wrought by missions all over the world is itself alone an answer to the critic and an attestation of faith. Dr Dennis has crowded two volumes (*Christian Missions and Social Progress*) with the summary of the changes effected—in domestic life, in the relief of sickness by medical missions, in the enlightenment and elevation of native women by lady missionaries and teachers, in the reduction of children's sufferings, cruel customs, oppression, and caste, and in the purifying of the relations of the sexes in marriage and the community—in short, in the whole social life of the pagan world. It is here that men who have no faith in the religious aims of missions are at one with us—in cordial approval of the work done by missionaries in ameliorating the con-

ditions of pagan life. The visible miracle cannot be gainsaid, even by the sceptic.

> "All things grow sweet in Him.
> He draws all things unto an order fair.
> All fierce extremes that beat along time's shore
> Like chidden waves grow mild,
> And creep to kiss His feet;
> For He alone it is that brings
> The fading flower of our humanity to perfect blossoming."

The return-value of Christian missions is seen in the evidence they give us of the world-wide power and truth of Christianity. In the mission field the Christian faith is being verified before our eyes. Its universal appeal to the human heart, its fitness for mankind under all conditions, its moral power for the regeneration and elevation of the race, and the redeemableness of the heathen are being openly attested anew in the history of the world. Faith's ventures are returning to certify our religion as experimentally true.

Here we have living witness of the contemporary presence and activity of the Spirit of Christ. The Gospel works; and it works moral miracles within present observation. At the very time when scepticism heralds the downfall of Christianity, it is demonstrating its vital force in the regeneration of races and men in all nations.

For proof of the dynamic power of Christianity in transforming continents our appeal formerly was made to the victory it achieved over Roman paganism in early centuries. But its claims would be weak if we had to reach so far back in history in order to adduce evidence of its conquering power over the pagan world. The same conflict with paganism is proceeding now under the lead of the missionary legions, and Christianity is repeating its early triumph in the same gradual stages. A fresh and modern *apologia* for Christianity is being wrought out by mission work before our eyes. If some do not see it—well, some did not see the miracle even when it was performed visibly by the Christ Himself in person. If the Christian Church had taken the advice of the early opponents of foreign missions, if we had "eaten our morsel alone," we should have lacked the greatest present-day witness to the truth of our religion.

If we ever ceased to disseminate the gospel while paganism survived, it would be because we had lost faith in Christ and had nothing vital to say to mankind. Our missionary enthusiasm is largely the measure of our spiritual life. "The love of Christ constraineth us." We cannot lie close to Christ's heart without hearing how it beats with the passion for all races of men. Those to whom He is

much will seek to make all men sharers in the boon He has brought into their own hearts and lives. And the results of faith's endeavour will return to confirm their faith and give Christ the Saviour world-wide verification.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

(See Chapter II. pp. 33-36)

The Powers and the Priests in the East

FIRST the missionary, then the consul, then the gunboat—that is the pith of what many a Chinaman may be heard to say. What he resents most bitterly, and what we have exposed in the text—the white priest's intermeddling with native courts, and foreign encroachments on territory—important books written by independent laymen, British and American travellers and officials, as well as by reliable missionaries, are continually certifying afresh. Among these may be specially named: *China and the Powers*, by Mr H. C. Thomson, author of a work on the Chitral Expedition; *The Real Chinese Question*, by Mr Chester Holcombe, Secretary of American Legation at Pekin; *Overland to China*, by Mr A. R. Colquhoun; and *China in Convulsion*, by Mr Arthur H. Smith.

France has been protector of Roman Catholics in the East; it was a French priest who inserted in the Chinese translation of the Treaty of 1860 a fraudulent interpolation entitling missionaries to reside and acquire property in the interior;

and it was under severe pressure from France that in 1899 an Imperial Decree was issued conferring on Roman Catholic dignitaries a recognised official status in China.

"The bishops," says Mr A. H. Smith, "adopt the rank of a Chinese Governor, and wear a button on their caps indicative of that fact, travelling in a chair with the number of bearers appropriate to that rank, with outriders and attendants on foot, an umbrella of honour borne in front, and a cannon discharged upon their arrival and departure."

The same status was offered to the missionaries of the Reformed Churches, but they, backed by the British Prime Minister, declined the offer.

Mr A. R. Colquhoun, author of well-known travel-books, writing as a lay investigator, says:

"The blood of the martyrs is in China the seed of French aggrandisement. France uses the missionaries and the native Christians as *agents-provocateurs*; and outrages and martyrdoms are her political harvest. What the preponderance of her commerce does for England the Catholic protectorate does for France, so that the influence of their respective positions *vis-à-vis* of the Chinese is nearly balanced; but France makes ten times more capital out of her religious material than Great Britian has ever done out of her commercial. Under the fostering care of the French Government the

Catholics have become a veritable *imperium in imperio*, disregarding local laws and customs, domineering over their pagan neighbours, and overriding the law of the land."

The irony of the situation is visible to shrewd Chinamen—the sinister fact that France, which protects Jesuit and other Romanist missions, and displays so much zeal in backing up their propaganda, has expelled these same Jesuits from her own borders as a danger to the Republic, and has herself rejected the religion which she pushes forward in China. Their leaders know that "the presence of a Roman Catholic bishop in Annam was the thin end of the wedge which has split that country in twain and brought a part of it under the domination of France." The Chinese conclude —no wonder!—that Christianity is a useful political weapon, the advance agent of territorial aggression.

With tragic results Germany has latterly secured that Roman Catholics in Shantung shall be under German protection. This was brought about through the agency of Bishop Anzer. "He began," says Mr Thomson (*China and the Powers*, p. 250), "to assume an offensive and dictatorial tone towards the Tsung-li-Yamen and to all the district governors, walking into their courts as though a superior, and reporting any official who did not cringe to him to his official superior and ultimately to Pekin.

Finally, to put the climax to his proceedings, he obtained permission to build a cathedral in Yu-Chow-Fu, where Confucius lived and where his shrine is, in the province of Shantung; and this cathedral was actually begun, and its building led to the murder of the two German missionaries, which furnished the pretext for the forcible seizure by Germany of the port of Kiao-Chau." This, he asserts, was one of those sparks which set the Boxer patriotic movement in a flame and produced such deadly disaster. (And the horrible cruelties of the Allied Troops during the convulsion in North China further deepened native repugnance for the foreign religion.)

Tributes are paid by the same writers to the devotion and self-denying labours of individual Roman Catholic missionaries; but even good men, though they were Protestant and not Papal, could not save this policy from working havoc. And some of the better men among them are beginning to see that their Church is paying too heavy a price for the favour of political Powers.

Why was Japan fast closed against Christianity and all intercourse with foreigners for centuries? Xavier and his henchmen had won tens of thousands of Japanese converts. But the foreigners, following the usual Roman Catholic policy, intrigued for political power and laid their hands on the reins of govern-

ment. The nation—the story and traditional scenes are well known to the author as a former resident in Japan—rose up in wrath, slew thousands of converts, and practically annihilated Christianity in the land, thereupon sealing the doors of their islands to all foreigners for two hundred and fifty years. The noble spirit of the devoted Xavier could not have averted such an issue to such a policy.

What but similar revolt must follow when a similar policy is pursued in China?

Quite as acute is the Chinese resentment when foreign priests intermeddle with the courts of law on behalf of their converts. "Broadly speaking, in Chinese courts there is no such thing as justice." Are the missionaries to leave their native followers to be devoured by the "tigers and wolves" of the Yamens? They are naturally tempted to side with their own people. But, if they do, they are enmeshed in a network of complications and animosities. Even if the wrong has all been on the pagan's side, there may have been indiscretions on the convert's; and, in any case, "whether the stone hits the pitcher, or the pitcher hits the stone, it goes ill with the pitcher." With good reason the Reformed Churches, taught by some bitter experience, have for the most part refused to take up the lawsuits of their native members.

The Roman Catholics, on the other hand,

take advantage of their status as local magistrates to intervene in the courts when their supporters are involved.

Let Mr A. R. Colquhoun state the facts. "Whenever a Christian has a dispute with a heathen, no matter what the subject in question may be, the quarrel is promptly taken up by the priest, who, if he cannot himself intimidate the local officials and compel them to give right to the Christian, represents the case as one of persecution, when the French consul is appealed to. Then is redress rigorously extorted, without the least reference to the justice of the demand." After citing a specific instance in detail, Mr Colquhoun adds: "It is not surprising that arbitrary proceedings like this should cause the Christians to be feared and hated, and we need not wonder at the occasional murder of a priest when such feelings are spread generally throughout the country."

The people know that the foreign priest has this privilege; numbers of them appeal to missionaries—Protestants included—to be admitted members of their churches, in view of some threatened dispute or lawsuit: once they are within the foreigner's fold the enemy will, they imagine, be frightened off.

"Every Catholic headquarters," says Mr A. H. Smith (*China in Convulsion*, pp. 50, 51), "is served by able Chinese, some of whom are expert in Yamen affairs and act as lawyers for

whoever has a case in hand. . . . It is common for those who are acting as advance agents of the Catholic Church, in fresh woods and pastures new, to let it be known that, whatsoever happens to those who identify themselves with that organisation, they will be protected in their lawsuits."

Protestants in some regions issue notices and tracts to prevent the expectation of such help from them; but, in spite of all, shady citizens apply for entrance, and some falsely use the name of the missionary for their nefarious purposes.

As the policy of certain Powers and priests is likely to continue the same and create trouble in the future as it has done in the past, let the public discriminate and justly apportion the blame.

In order to avoid "offences," the Reformed Churches should do everything to sever themselves from all political backing, to prove—even though it cost a great price in means, the refusal of indemnities, and personal freedom—that they have no mercenary ends to serve and are absolutely disinterested in their campaign.

There are certain "offences" which are inevitable. In addition to some mentioned already, the incursion of Western commerce disturbs native industries and trade. "Fire-ships," telegraphs, railways—of such disquieting encroachments there can be no arrest.

It is also a grave offence in the eyes of the authorities and the people that Christians should decline to conform to the customs of the country. Most missionaries and converts stand out against the homage paid to departed ancestors. Some argue that the custom means little more than "paying one's respects" to the dead: why not, then, "bow in the house of Rimmon" to that extent? The primitive Christians in the Roman Empire had to confront the same question. Why not conform just so far as to pay passing homage to the Emperor's statue? But, though the particular point was small in itself, it stood for their general separation from paganism and formed the test of their religious consistency.

"The refusal of the Christians to perform ceremonies which they regard as idolatrous at the New Year season, at the spring festival when the sacrifices are offered at the graves, at weddings, and especially at funerals, renders them liable to persecution, sometimes to the extent of being driven from their homes and expelled from the clan to which they belong" (*China in Convulsion*, p. 34). But in all such matters of conscience the animosity aroused is inevitable in the nature of the case. It must be endured in patience and courtesy, in the expectation that the leavening power of Christianity will gradually spread enlightenment and overcome prejudice. Not on these

grounds chiefly can it be said that "the missionary is at the bottom of all the trouble."

"It cannot be too often repeated," writes Mr Thomson—and Mr Chester Holcombe has already been quoted in the same sense (*supra* p. 33)—"that the feeling against the missionaries was caused, not by their tenets, nor by the quiet exercise of their religion, but by the use made of them politically by their different Governments, and still more by their harmful intermeddling on behalf of their converts in the courts of law."

APPENDIX B

(Chapters VII. and VIII. pp. 102, 108, 124, 138)

Checks to Progress in India

MR MEREDITH TOWNSEND, of the *Spectator*, in the course of a discriminating discussion of the inter-relations between the West and the East, in *Asia and Europe*, makes an interesting estimate of the prospects of Christianity in India and of the elements that hinder progress.

The supernatural elements and the complex creed in Christianity, Mr Townsend says, present no difficulty to the Hindu mind. With superhuman manifestations of deity in human form the Hindu is already familiar: "no miracle, however stupendous, overstrains the capacity of his faith." On the contrary, Christ is not so completely the Hindu ideal because not so visibly supernatural and because so like their own human ideal of humility and self-sacrifice.

One serious obstacle to missionary progress lies in the attempt generally made by the workers from the West, not to make Christians merely, but to Europeanise the Asiatic. Missionaries insist on "civilising" the Indian after the manner of the West. They breed in him the desire of imitation, wrench him away from

the whole system of things in which he has been reared, create a hybrid caste, not quite European, not quite Indian, with the originality killed out of it. The missionary as a European is divided from the people of India by race, colour, and incurable differences of thought, of habit, of taste, and of language. He never can become an Indian. All this is inevitable. But Christianity is capable of adapting itself to all civilisations. And, as Mr Townsend implies, no attempt should be made to create the same division among native converts by Europeanising them. As has been argued in preceding pages, Christianity must be planted in the consciousness of the world-races, and, while tended and guided by the Western missionary, must be left to adapt itself to their racial conditions and become self-propagating along their own lines, even at the risk for a time of aberrations in the adaptation of Christian doctrines.

The convert, too, is required to "break caste" irrevocably. Mr Townsend believes caste to be "a form of socialism which has through ages protected Hindu society from anarchy and from the worst evils of industrial and competitive life—an automatic poor-law to begin with, and the strongest form of trades union." But "caste in the Indian sense and Christianity cannot co-exist." The break-up is inevitable. The convert must eat and drink with men of

other castes, must abandon the seclusion of his home and much of his authority over his wife and children, and must give up many of his rooted habits. It is not only his religion that is changed; everything is changed for him. "One can hardly wonder that many, otherwise ready, shrink from such a baptism of fire." It is, as we know well, on this account that many in India remain Christians in secret.

Sir Charles Aitchison, one of India's Lieutenant-Governors, said: "I know of one of the ruling princes of India who probably never saw or spoke to a Christian missionary in his life. After a long talk with me on religious matters, he told me himself that he reads the Sanskrit translation of our Bible and prays to Jesus Christ every day for the pardon of his sins. . . Statistics of conversion are no proper or adequate test of missionary work."

Moreover, the missionary in India is often ridiculed for saying that he has hearers who are converts but not Christians. He is stating the simple truth, says Mr Townsend. "The Hindu mind can believe, and does believe, in mutually destructive facts at one and the same time. An astronomer who predicts eclipses ten years ahead without a blunder believes all the while that the eclipse is caused by some supernatural dog swallowing the moon, and will beat a drum to make the dog give up the prize." He may be convinced of the truth of Christi-

anity, but the assent is not a transforming spiritual faith, and leaves him nearly where he was—a baffling puzzle and a disappointment to the missionary.

These obstacles alone account for much delay in the victorious progress of Christianity and for facts that feed the critics.[1]

Caste, again, has been a buttress to the native; and the removal of the old buttresses and tribal habits sometimes leaves the converts unsteady. "And," says Mr Townsend, "the second generation often shows signs of missing the ancient buttresses of conduct. They are the true anxieties of the missionaries, and it is from them in nine cases out of ten that the ill-repute of Indian Christians is derived; but European opinion about them is most unfair. They are not converts but born Christians, like any of our own artisans; they have not gone through a mental martyrdom, and they have to be bred up without strong convictions, except that Christianity is doubtless true, without the defences which native opinion has organised for ages, and in the midst of a heathen society in which the white Christians declare their children shall not live."

[1] A Scot, it is said, was asked to support a society for the Conversion of the Jews. He subscribed once, twice, and was applied to for the third time, when his impatience broke out. "Confoond it, are thae Jews no' a' converted *yet*?" Widen the application, and is it not symbolically true of many with reference to the progress of Christian missions?

As to these imperfections in a small proportion of the converts, the same writer wisely adds: "Christianity is always imperfect in its beginnings. The majority of Christians in Constantine's time would have seemed to modern missionaries mere worldlings; the converted Saxons were for centuries violent brutes; and the mass of Christians throughout the world are even now no better than indifferents. None the less is it true that the race which embraces Christianity, even nominally, rises with a bound out of its former position, and contains in itself thenceforward the seed of a nobler and more lasting life."

The inference is clear, as urged in preceding pages. We must not compare native converts newly emerged from paganism with the best life found in Christian lands of the West, but with the conditions which existed in our own race when as yet the work of Christianity was only commenced among us. It is only in the course of generations, there as here, that the harvest of the truth is reaped. As Mr Kidd shows in his *Principles of Western Civilisation*, the progressive struggles and movements of to-day are always for the benefit, not of the present generation, but of that "majority which constitutes the long roll of the yet unborn generations," and Christianity is a vital force in that ultimate elevation of the world.

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